THE CRISIS

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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Books? See the Selected List on the Back Cover

THE CRISIS

Vol. 15—No. 1 NOVEMBER, 1917 Whole No. 85

Editorial

THE OATH OF THE NEGRO VOTER

AS one of the Earth's Disowned I swear to hold my Ballot as the sacred pawn of Liberty for all mankind and for my prisoned race.

I will accept no price for my priceless Vote, save alone just laws, honestly dealt, without regard to color, wealth or strength.

I will make the first and foremost aim of my voting the Enfranchisement of every citizen, male and female; and particularly the restoring of the stolen franchise to my people, by which continuing theft the enemies of the Negro race sit in high places today and wretchedly misgovern.

I will make the second object of my voting the division of the Social Income on the principle that he who does not work, be he rich or poor, may not eat; and that Land and Capital ought to belong to the Many and not to the Few.

I will accept no Office which I cannot efficiently fill; I will judge all Officials by their service to the common weal and I will not regard the mere giving of Office to my friends as payment for my support of any party.

I will judge all Political Parties not by their past deeds or their future promises but simply by the present acts of the Officials who represent them, and I will cast my vote for or against those officials accordingly.

I will scan carefully the Record of every candidate for whom I must vote and especially of Congressmen, Legislators and local Officials, learning what manner of man each is, how he has carried out his trust and what pledges he makes in general; and in particular I will ask his attitude toward my race.

I hereby solemnly pledge myself to join with others like-minded to myself in thus before each election, agreeing upon a list of suitable Candidates who by their records or promises seem most likely to secure good government and justice to black folk, and I will vote for these candidates, regardless of their party, race or sex.

I will have firm faith in Democracy, despite its mistakes and inefficiency, knowing that in no other way can the common Experience, Want and Will be pooled for the common good, and that no Despot or Aristocrat can ever be wise or good enough to rule his fellowmen.

In order to accomplish the above ends I hereby entrust the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its local branches with the investigation and co-operation necessary to the listing of suitable candidates for my franchise at each election.

Persons minded to sign the above oath will send their names to the Editor of THE CRISIS.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

SOME 75,000 Negro voters in the State of New York will be asked to decide this month as to whether or not they are willing that women should have the vote in this State. It is an unpleasant but well-known fact that hitherto American Negro voters have, in the majority of cases, not been favorable to woman suffrage. This attitude has been taken for two main reasons: *First*, the Negro, still imbued by the ideals of a past generation, does not realize the new status of women in industrial and social life. Despite the fact that within his own group women are achieving economic independence even faster than whites, he thinks of these as exceptional and abnormal and looks forward to the time when his wages will be large enough to support his wife and daughters in comparative idleness at nome.

Secondly, the American Negro is particularly bitter at the attitude of many white women: at the naïve assumption that the height of his ambition is to marry them, at their artificially-inspired fear of every dark face, which leads to frightful accusations and suspicions, and at their sometimes insulting behavior toward him in public places.

Notwithstanding the undoubted weight of these two reasons, the American Negro must remember, *First*, that the day when women can be considered as the mere appendages of men, dependent upon their bounty and educated chiefly for their pleasure, has gone by; that as an intelligent, self-supporting human being a woman has just as good a right to a voice in her own government as has any man; and that the denial of this right is as unjust as is the denial of the right to vote to American Negroes.

Secondly, two wrongs never made a right. We cannot punish the insolence of certain classes of American white women or correct their ridiculous fears by denying them their undoubted rights.

It goes without saying that the women's vote, particularly in the South, will be cast almost unanimously, at first, for every reactionary Negro-hating piece of legislation that is proposed; that the Bourbons and the demagogs, who are today sitting in the National Legislature by the reason of stolen votes, will have additional backing for some years from the votes of white women.

But against this consideration it must be remembered that these same women are going to learn political justice a great deal more quickly than did their men and that despite their prejudices their very emergence into the real, hard facts of life and out of the silly fairy-land to which their Southern male masters beguile them is going to teach them sense in time.

Moreover, it is going to be more difficult to disfranchise colored women in the South than it was to disfranchise colored men. Even southern "gentlemen," as used as they are to the mistreatment of colored women, cannot in the blaze of present publicity physically beat them away from the polls. Their economic power over them will be smaller than their power over the men and while you can still bribe some pauperized Negro laborers with a few dollars at election time, you cannot bribe Negro women.

It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that every single black voter in the State of New York should this month cast his ballot in favor of woman suffrage and that every black voter in the United States should do the same thing whenever and as often as he has opportunity.

It is only in such broad-minded willingness to do justice to all, even to his own temporary hurt, that the black man can prove his right not only to share, but to help direct modern culture.

CO-OPERATION.

THE CRISIS has now for several months been developing a program looking toward an economic forward movement among the Negroes of the United States. The matter has been developed slowly in order to have as large a number of people as possible understand just what it is that THE CRISIS has in mind.

The first duty of a modern citizen is to earn a living; but earning a living today is a complicated thing and it would be a great mistake for Negroes to try the old, individualistic *laissez-faire* method.

Co-operation in economics can, perhaps, best be explained by quoting a leaflet by Dr. J. P. Warbasse: "The Co-operative Movement is an organized non-political effort of the people to control the production and distribution of the things needed to satisfy their wants. It is devoted to the principle that things should be done and commodities produced for use rather than for exchange. . . .

"With a regularity of increase which has seemed almost fatalistic, the movement has spread. In most European countries the membership in the co-operative societies has about doubled itself every ten years. Now, after three-quarters of a century, in many of these countries the number of people embraced in the movement is passing from a large minority toward a majority of the total population. In some sections it has already become a large majority.

"Food, clothing, housing, fuel, insurance, transportation, and entertainment are all provided by co-operative societies for their members. To attain these things has meant, first, the organization of people as consumers, and then production for these organized consumers. This has involved study, consecration, and organization talent. There have been many conflicts with the forces of capitalism, but co-operation has won. . . .

"The powerful combines, with capital, unscrupulous control of politics, and the force of vested interests behind them, have been beaten by organizations largely composed of working people. Co-operation has succeeded against the greatest economic odds. Now the distributing agencies, the lands and mills of the co-operators, have become noteworthy objects of industry. Some of these are among the largest flour mills, shoe factories, clothing factories, canneries and bakeries in the world—all producing things, not for the competitive market, but for the people who own and consume them. . . .

"Experience and not theory has developed the fact that the successful co-operative movement which leads straight to the goal, begins with the organization of the people as consumers. These have an immutable economic principle working for them. The consumer has the money; if he has not he cannot consume; or he consumes with somebody's else money. He and his purse are the aim and object of business. Commerce is addressed to him. It is for him that the honey of trade is spread, music plays, lights sparkle, and all the prostitution of business is made as alluring as genius can contrive. As consumers, business takes off its hat to the workers; bows, flatters and smirks, and licks the dust from their shoes.

"Whenever the people organize as consumers, then they begin to enjoy the economic advantages of their organization; not at some remote day, but from the moment they organize; not when all are organized, but when even a few are gathered together.

"These are some of the important things which experience has revealed, and it may be assumed that they will

hold as true for the future as for the past."

This is the movement which THE CRISIS wishes to bring more and more to the attention of the Negroes of the United States. It firmly believes that this is our economic way out, our industrial emancipation.

HAMPTON

THE death of Hollis Burke Frissell, principal of Hampton Institute, brings that institution and its work prominently before the public. It is, therefore, peculiarly fitting that the following correspondence should be made public:

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In preparation for the Fiftieth Anniversary of Hampton Institute, efforts are being made to collect the necessary material for the history of the school. It is a matter of history that for many years the colored people were opposed to the type of education offered them at Hampton and were consequently also opposed to the school itself. For the sake of learning the facts in regard to this matter I am writing to you and to a number of other prominent colored men to ask for statements in regard to the facts in the case.

I shall be very grateful if you will send me a statement in regard to the attitude (with reasons) of the colored people who were opposed to industrial education during the early days of Hampton and who are still in some cases opposed to it.

Will you kindly say in this connection whether you will object to the use of your name, if that is thought desirable? * * *

(MISS) J. E. DAVIS.

Dear Miss Davis:

I have a wide acquaintance with educated colored folk. My interpretation of their attitude is that they do not oppose and never have opposed Hampton Institute because it teaches industries. On the contrary they recognize Hampton as probably the best center of trade-teaching for Negroes in the United States.

It is true, however, that educated Negroes in the past and at present hold Hampton and some of her methods in grave distrust. They recognize the worth of her work—the fine spirit of many of her teachers, past and present, and the splendid character of her graduates, but at the same time, they cannot forget three important facts:

1. The course of study at Hampton is so arranged that it cannot be made to fit in with the higher courses of education, as adopted by the leading educational institutions of the United States. Granted that Hampton is and ought to be the finishing school for nine-tenths of her students, the fact remains that Hampton deliberately makes it impossible for her most promising and brilliant students to receive college training or higher technical and professional training, save at great disadvantage and a wellnigh fatal loss of time. Friends of Hampton have defended this action by asserting (a) that the Negro does not need college training and (b) that if the colleges do not fit the Hampton course of study, *they* are wrong and not Hampton. Both these assertions educated Negroes regard as preposterous. There are hundreds of Hampton men who deserve and could efficiently use longer and more thorough courses of training than Hampton gives, but who find themselves at the age of nineteen or twenty in an educational blind alley, with further progress barred. They must go out as half-educated, partially-trained men, when they might be developed to full efficiency. It is, undoubtedly, true that colleges ought to recognize a broader fitting-school course of study than they do at present, but so long as they do not,

it is criminal to make the Negro the peculiar sufferer from their exclusiveness and to deny the undoubted value of the present college curriculum to the finest Negro minds in Virginia.

2. It may be said that Hampton simply specializes on technical training and high school work and that students fitted for higher training can go elsewhere. This brings us to the second indictment against Hampton —her illiberal and seemingly selfish attitude toward other colored schools. She holds little or no fellowship with them; she has repeatedly loaned herself to decrying their work, criticizing and belittling their ideals while her friends continually seek to divert to Hampton the already painfully meager revenues of the colored colleges. Few schools can equal in its own field the efficiency of Hampton, with its millions of endowment, but certainly the splendid work of Atlanta, Fisk, Howard, and other schools, done in poverty and travail and in the face of hostile public opinion, deserves better recognition and less criticism than it gets from Hampton and her friends.

Moreover, the students who go to Hampton go for "education." They do not know their own bent and aptitudes. They come from homes where they can hope for little educational guidance. It should be the work of Hampton not simply to train but to sift and to send to colleges or other schools those fitted for work higher or different from that offered by her curriculum. This she never voluntarily does. She feeds no colleges or professional schools; she encourages no artists or musicians; she helps no writers, but apparently proceeds on the assumption that every Negro must be trained to farm, or to be an artisan or a servant. We have no silly illusions as to the number of talented Negroes who deserve higher training, but surely in fifty years it seems that out of tens of thousands of students Hampton might have found a few worthy of the highest training. Small wonder that educated Negroes resent this and demand that Hampton cease to bury talent and deflect genius.

3. The third indictment of educated Black Folk against Hampton is more difficult to express than the others, and one of which we are less sure, and yet it is a real grievance in our minds. We believe that an institution that professes to teach the Negro self-respect and self-control should give the Negro a larger voice in her government. We do not wish Hampton to be an exclusively Negro institution, but we do think that there should be Negroes on her Board of Trustees; that there should be a larger recognition of Negro achievement, instead of an almost exclusive emphasis of the white philanthropists; and that there should be a closer touch between the school and the body of educated Negro opinion. In fine, we think that Hampton should consider what we want and not simply what she wishes us to want. We do not feel, at present, that Hampton is our school—on the contrary, we feel that she belongs to the white South and to the reactionary North, and we fear that she is a center of that underground and silent intrigue which is determined to perpetuate the American Negro as a docile peasant and peon, without political rights or social standing, working for little wage, and heaping up dividends to be doled out in future charity to his children.

Such a feeling as this may be wrong and ill-founded, but it is real and it easily lies within Hampton's power to disprove it.

These are the reasons why many educated Negroes are and have been "opposed" to Hampton. We have seldom voiced this opposition, and I voice it now only at your invitation.

I reiterate my respect for the Institution and my firm belief that it has done great good, but I insist that no school which deliberately curtails the training of the talented, refuses to guide her apter students to their greatest development, save in restricted lines, and not only gives her beneficiaries little or no voice in its control, but seems even to harbor and encourage their enemies—no such school is reaching its greatest usefulness.

W. E. B. DU BOIS.

THE KIGHTS OF PYTHIAS.

THE gift of one hundred dollars for the purposes of this Association by the Grand Lodge of Knights of Pythias of Illinois through their Grand Chancellor, Dr. Allen A. Wesley, was a most significant action. It has already been followed by the Grand Lodge of Masons of Colorado, the Order of Calanthe of Cincinnati, Ohio, and it was preceded by the Northeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the National Federation of Colored Women, the New Jersey State Federation and other organizations.

The action of these bodies foreshadows a time when all of the great fraternal orders and industrial bodies of America will choose the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a clearing house for united action on the problems in which they are so intensely interested.

MR. FLIPPER.

LIEUTENANT HENRY O. FLIPPER is at present living in El Paso, Texas. He was the first colored cadet to graduate from West Point and was dismissed from the army, as every American Negro believes, on account of race prejudice. It is most unfortunate that a man like this should be found saying: "The men composing the Twenty-fourth Infantry are gamblers, thugs, bums and the scum of our people."

It is equally unfortunate that reputable colored American papers should publish such a libel.

There is abundance of testimony that the men of the Twenty-fourth Regiment are in the main brave and honest men and just as worthy of the respect of their race and nation as Henry O. Flipper.

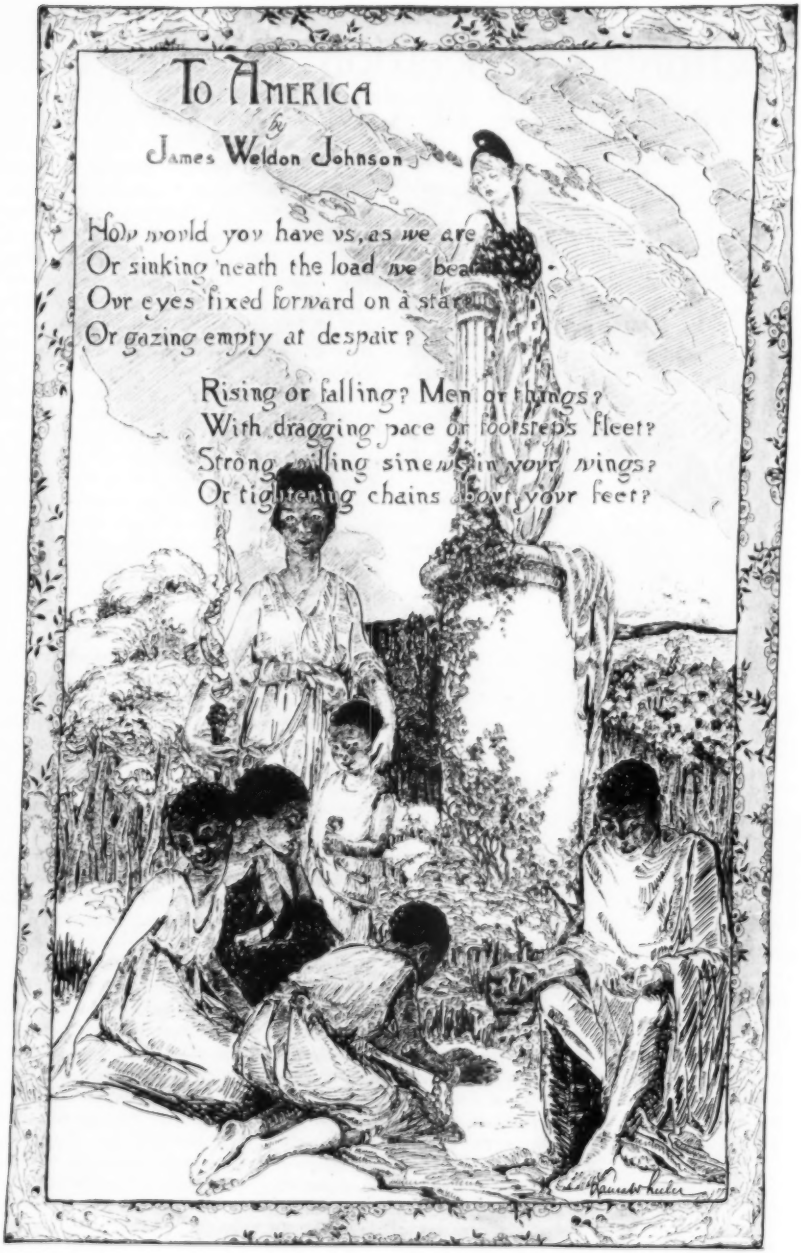
A RESOLUTION

AT a meeting of the official board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Thursday, October 4, the following resolution was passed:

WHEREAS, It is essential to the success of the war that America's contribution be that of a nation that knows no dividing line within itself, no half-hearted allegiances, no pseudo-patriotism; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the official board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, now in session in New York, urges unqualified loyalty to the Government in this crisis; protests as un-American those discriminations and injustices that set class against class, race against race, sex against sex, and furnish opportunity for insidious alien propaganda that trades upon them to the internal disturbance of our country; maintains that all American men or women, white or black, in the trenches or in the home and the factory, who are giving their lives to uphold the ideals of democracy, shall share equally in the privileges and protection of democracy; and deplores all lawlessness based on race or sex or class prejudice; and, be it further

Resolved, That this Board set forth its belief in and its stand for that broad type of American democracy that knows no bias on the ground of race, color, creed or sex. To the end that Americans may stand united not as Irish-Americans, German-Americans, Negro-Americans, Slav-Americans, and "the women," but one and all as Americans for America.


To America
by
James Weldon Johnson
How would you have us, as we are
Or sinking 'neath the load we bear
Our eyes fixed forward on a star
Or gazing empty at despair?
Rising or falling? Men or things?
With dragging pace or footsteps fleet?
Strong willing sinews in your wings?
Or tightening chains about your feet?

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

HOUSTON.

AN N. A. A. C. P. INVESTIGATION

By MARTHA GRUENING

THE primary cause of the Houston riot was the habitual brutality of the white police officers of Houston in their treatment of colored people. Contributing causes were (1) the mistake made in not arming members of the colored provost guard or military police, (2) lax discipline at Camp Logan which permitted promiscuous visiting at the camp and made drinking and immorality possible among the soldiers.

Houston is a hustling and progressive southern city having the commission form of government and, as southern cities go, a fairly liberal one. Its population before the Negro exodus, which has doubtless decreased it by many thousands, was estimated at 150,000. Harris County, in which it is situated, has never had a lynching, and there are other indications, such as the comparative restraint and self-control of the white citizens after the riot, that the colored people perhaps enjoy a greater degree of freedom with less danger than in many parts of the South. It is, however, a southern city, and the presence of the Negro troops inevitably stirred its Negrophobe element to protest. There was some feeling against the troops being there at all, but I could not find that it was universal. Most of the white people seem to have wanted the financial advantages to be derived from having the camp in the neighborhood. The sentiment I heard expressed most frequently by them was that they were willing to endure the colored soldiers if they could be "controlled." I was frequently told that Negroes in uniform were inevitably "insolent" and that members of the military police in particular were frequently "insolent" to the white police of Houston. It was almost universally conceded, however, that the members of the white police force habitually cursed, struck, and otherwise maltreated colored prisoners. One of the important results of the riot has been an attempt on the part of the Mayor and the Chief of Police of Houston to put a stop to this custom.

In deference to the southern feeling against the arming of Negroes and because of the expected co-operation of the city Police Department, members of the provost guard were not armed, thus creating a situation without precedent in the history of this guard. A few carried clubs, but none of them had guns, and most of them were without weapons of any kind. They were supposed to call on white police officers to make arrests. The feeling is strong among the colored people of Houston that this was the real cause of the riot. "You may have observed," one of them said to me, "that Southerners do not like to fight Negroes on equal terms. This is at the back of all the southern feeling against Negro soldiers. If Corporal Baltimore had been armed, they would never have dared to set upon him and we should not have had a riot." This was the general feeling I found among the colored people of Houston.

Several minor encounters took place between the military and civil police shortly after the troops arrived. As a result, Chief of Police Brock issued an order calling on his men to co-operate with the military police, to give them full assistance, and to refer to them as "colored" and not as "nigger" officers. Chief Brock is a northern man and though apparently sincere and well-meaning, does not seem to have the full confidence of all his men for this and other reasons. The order was obeyed in a few instances and more often disregarded.

On the afternoon of August 23, two policemen, Lee Sparks and Rufe Daniels—the former known to the colored people as a brutal bully—entered the house of a respectable colored woman in an alleged search for a colored fugitive accused of crap-shooting. Failing to find him, they arrested the woman, striking and cursing her and forcing her out into the street only partly clad. While they were waiting for the patrol wagon a crowd gathered about the weeping woman who had become hysterical and was begging to know why she was being arrested. In this crowd was a colored soldier, Private Edwards. Edwards seems to have questioned the police officers or re-

monstrated with them. Accounts differ on this point, but they all agree that the officers immediately set upon him and beat him to the ground with the butts of their six-shooters, continuing to beat and kick him while he was on the ground, and arrested him. In the words of Sparks himself: "I beat that nigger until his heart got right. He was a good nigger when I got through with him." Later Corporal Baltimore, a member of the military police, approached the officers and inquired for Edwards, as it was his duty to do. Sparks immediately opened fire, and Baltimore, being unarmed, fled with the two policemen in pursuit shooting as they ran. Baltimore entered a house in the neighborhood and hid under a bed. They followed, dragged him out, beat him up and arrested him. It was this outrage which infuriated the men of the 24th Infantry to the point of revolt. Following is the story of the arrest as given by its victim, Mrs. Travers, and by eyewitnesses whose names are in the possession of the Association, but are withheld for their protection.

Mrs. Travers, an evidently respectable, hardworking colored woman, said:

"I was in my house ironing. I got five children. I heard shooting and I'd run out in my yard to see what was happening. Sparks he came into my house and said, 'Did you see a nigger jumping over that yard?' and I said, 'No, sir.' He came in the house and looked all around. Went in back. Then Daniels, the other policeman, he came around the corner on his horse. I called to Mrs. Williams, my friend that lives across the street, and asked her what was the matter. She said, 'I don't know; I think they were shooting at crap-shooters.'

"He (Sparks) came in again just then and said, 'You're a God damn liar; I shot down in the ground.' I looked at her and she looked at me and he said, 'You all God damn nigger bitches. Since these God damn sons of bitches of nigger soldiers come here you are trying to take the town.' He came into the bedroom then and into the kitchen and I ask him what he want. He replied to me, 'Don't you ask an officer what he want in your house.' He say, 'I'm from Fort Ben and we don't allow niggers to talk back to us. We generally whip them down there.' Then he hauled off and slapped me. I hollered and the big one—this Daniels—he ran in, and then Sparks said to him, 'I slapped her and what shall we do about it?' Daniels says, 'Take and give her ninety days on the Pea Farm 'cause she's one of these biggety nigger women.' Then they both took me by the arm and commenced dragging me out. I asked them to let me put some clothes on and Sparks says, 'No, we'll take you just as you are. If you was naked we'd take you.' Then I take the baby in my arms and asked him to let me take it. He took it out of my arms and threw it down on the sidewalk. Took me with my arms behind my back and Daniels, he says, if I didn't come he'd break them. They took me out on Tempson Street. He rung up the Police Department. Whilst I was standing crowd began a-coming (all I had on was this old dress-skirt and a pair panties and a ol' raggedy waist. No shoes or nothing)—crowd and a colored soldier man came. [Private Edwards.] Sparks, he says to me, 'YOU STAND HERE,' and I did and a lady friend brought me shoes and a bonnet and apron and he (Sparks) says, 'Stay here,' and went over, and before the soldier could say a word he said, 'What you got to do with this,' and he raised his six-shooter and he beat him—beat him *good*. He didn't do a thing but just raise his hand to ward them off. Didn't even tell them to quit, nor nothing. Then another soldier, this Sergeant Somebody, came, and the first one called to him and the policeman said to him, 'If you come here, we'll give you the same.' Edwards said, 'Must I go with them?' and the second one says, 'Yes, go with them and we'll come along after you.' I hear they shot that second soldier but I didn't see it, for they took me away. They take me to the Police Department and locked me up for using 'abusive language'—but they dismissed the case today.

"I ain't never been before no court of inquiry, no ma'am. Only just to the court when they dismissed the case against me, and there ain't no generals nor no one been out to see me or ask anything. I don't know why they don't come to me. They been to most everyone else around here, and I could tell them the truth. Seems like they might ask me, when I'm the one it happened to, and I'm not afraid to tell, even if Sparks do come back afterwards and do some more to me, but you're the only one yet that's come to ask me."

When interviewed a second time, Mrs. Travers added the following to her statement:

"I been down to the Prosecutor's office today. He asked me what did I know about the riot. I said, 'I don't know nothing about it. I was in bed with my children when it happened. Where else would I be at that time of night?' He said to me didn't I know beforehand that the soldiers were coming; didn't none of them tell me beforehand. I told him no, but I could tell him what happened before the riot to make it happen, and I started to tell him that Sparks came into my house and hit me. He say he didn't want to hear anything more about that and he sent me home. That's what I had to spend my carfare for."

One eye-witness said:

"I didn't see them arrest Mrs. Travers. I don't know what happened in the house, but I saw her afterwards and I know she said they slapped her in the house and pinched her arms and threw her baby under the bed. They had her right outside here waiting for the patrol wagon. She hadn't on but two pieces of clothes—and she was hollering and asking what she'd done to be arrested. Then Private Edwards came up and asked if he could take her. I heard the policeman say, 'Stand back,' and landed him on the head with his six-shooter. Then Baltimore he came and asked him about the other soldier. They beat him, too, and he ran and they shot after him. I saw Sparks fire after him three times, myself. Daniels shot, too, but I don't know if it was more than once. Baltimore ran away around the corner, with them firing after him, and his head was bloody. I thought he'd drop any time, but he didn't get hit. They said afterward they fired at the ground—but they didn't. They shot right straight at him and (they fired) into a street full of women and children. They haven't found any bullet holes in the sidewalk either, and it wasn't there that they fired. It was at Baltimore, and no mistake."

A second eye-witness said:

"I drive a butcher wagon. I make deliveries all about here and I saw a lot of what happened about here before the riot. When Sparks and Daniels came along that day I was driving past where three boys were shooting craps at the corner of Felipe and Bailey Streets. They fired a shot to scare the boys and they ran. Then the officers couldn't locate them. When I rode by again they had this woman, whose arrest was the cause of the riot, by the patrol box. She was insufficiently dressed to be out on the street and barefoot. There was a young soldier there (Private Edwards) who came up and asked the officers to let her put on shoes and clothes. The officers struck at him with their six-shooters. He put up his hand and blocked the first blow. The second hit him on the head and made him bloody. They followed that up and beat him to the ground. When he was down, one of them took the muzzle of his gun and punched him in the side, and Sparks said, 'That's the way we do things in the South. We're running things not the d—— niggers.'

"It was later—at the same spot—the policemen were still there when the military officer (Baltimore) came. I didn't hear what he said, but whatever was said between him and the police officers made him stop about half a block away and fold his arms, and at that one of the officers took out his revolver and commenced firing at him—right at him. He ran away around the corner of Mr. May's place. That's all I saw then."

When word of the outrage reached camp, feeling ran high. It was by no means the first incident of the kind that had occurred. A few days before a Negro had been beaten on a car by city detective Ed Stoermer, who, according to his own testimony before the Citizens Investigating Committee, cleared the car of its white passengers, telling them that he "might have to kill the nigger." I was reliably informed that on another occasion two colored soldiers were brutally beaten up by city detectives who boarded the car in which they sat from a Ford machine; that this machine drew up alongside of the car which was halted by the conductor long enough for the beating to take place, after which the detectives again got into the car and drove off.

Baltimore was popular among the men of the 24th Infantry, and for some time the rumor persisted that he had been killed. To quell the excitement Major Snow telephoned in to Police Headquarters to ascertain the facts and asked that Baltimore be returned to the camp immediately. At roll call that evening Snow addressed the men, telling them what had happened and stating that Sparks was to blame and would be punished. The men, however, were by that time beyond

his control. In this connection it has been pointed out several times that Sparks has been suspended and is under indictment for the assault on Baltimore and for murder for the shooting of another Negro. There is no reason to believe that this indictment is anything but a bluff, the purpose of which is to show that there was no excuse for the soldiers taking the law into their hands. Chief Brock, who throughout has given evidence of good faith, did his duty in suspending Sparks, but there is no reason to believe that Sparks will receive any punishment at the hands of a white jury, and if he is acquitted, he probably cannot be kept off the police force. "Of course, Sparks will be let off with a fine. Our policemen have to beat the niggers when they are insolent. You can't expect them to let a nigger curse them," one white man told me. The same man, in reply to my question whether Sparks did not have a reputation as a bully, replied, "Oh, no; at least only among the colored people." The feeling of the colored people in regard to Sparks and the police in general is best illustrated by the statement of another colored man whose name I was unable to learn:

"It's like this, lady—I could talk all right, but I'm afeard. I know a lot, but I live here, and my family lives here, and all I got—all my savings of a lifetime is here—and there's prejudice here—and you see how 'tis. I made up my mind—I took like an oath to myself I wouldn't say nothing. I just made up my mind that I didn't *know* nothing. Only that my friend here says you're all right, I wouldn't say this much—but I got confidence in him.

"There's been a lot of dirty work here. I'm not saying nothing, but you find out who it was killed that colored man who was drafted into the army on Washington Street, and who shot that colored man, Williams, in the back, they say was killed in a crap game on Dallas Avenue. They can't find out that no one did it—but we *know* Sparks was in the gang that did the shooting. And that soldier man—the police shot him running—I saw *him* and he was hit in the back of the neck. And, what's more, I've seen three more colored men beat up without any cause by the police since the riot. There's a lot more I *could* say, only I'm afeard."

It is the Negro mentioned in this statement, Williams, for whose murder Sparks has been indicted. While I was in Houston the other Negro fugitive mentioned, who turned out to be an enlisted man under the selective draft law, was shot by a city detective simply for refusing to halt. The detective was "amicably" arrested by the Chief of Detectives and almost immediately released on a five hundred dollar bond. Sparks is also at liberty and although without the prestige given him by his position on the police force, was, at last report, using that liberty to further molest the colored people. About a week after the riot he entered the house of a respectable colored physician on Robbin Avenue early in the morning while the latter was in his bath and his wife partly dressed, on the pretext of looking for a fugitive, insulted and bullied them both when they protested, and threatened them with a drawn gun. On the same day he threatened a colored woman that he would "blow her damned head off" because he thought she had laughed at him. It was in pursuit of this woman that he entered several colored houses in this block, threatening and cursing the colored people.

When investigation made it apparent that the police were to blame for the beginning of the riot, a systematic attempt was made to shift the blame for this also on to the colored people. Strange stories began to be circulated in the papers and by word of mouth as to the real cause of the friction between the soldiers and the police. It was again the insolence of the Negro soldiers which in this case took the form of ignoring the "Jim Crow" regulations of Houston, particularly on the Houston Street cars. Testimony to this effect, which was obviously absurd, was given and reported apparently in all seriousness before the Citizen's Board of Inquiry. Several motormen and conductors were subpoenaed to testify to this effect, and one of them told a pathetic story of one occasion on which his car was boarded by a number of Negro soldiers (unarmed) who threw the "Jim Crow" screen out of the car window, over ran the car, forcing white passengers to get up and give them their seats, and who escaped unscathed to tell the tale. He was unable to give the names of any witnesses to this occurrence, although he stated that many of the white passengers left the car in great anger threatening that he would be reported and lose his job. The legend continued to the effect that white police officers were finally called in to deal with the Negro soldiers

who were terrorizing the peaceable white citizens and demoralizing colored civilians, and that the former by merely doing their duty won the undying enmity of the colored soldiers.

Another outrageously false impression which was deliberately given by the white press was that Mrs. Travers was a woman of the underworld and that her arrest was the result of drunken and disorderly conduct. Mrs. Travers is unmistakably a hard-working, respectable woman. She had no connection with either Edwards or Baltimore, whom she had never seen before the day of the riot. The story, however, was never denied, and was still being circulated while I was in Houston, although so many white people who had employed her testified to her good character that it was necessary to acquit her at her trial for "using abusive language." She was also never called before the Citizen's Board of Inquiry.

Police brutality and bad discipline among the soldiers led up to the riot, which cost the city of Houston eighteen lives. Among them was that of Daniels, the policeman who had taken part in the beating of Baltimore and Edwards. There is abundant testimony from both white and colored people that there was excessive drinking and immorality among the soldiers at the camp, and there is testimony by white people to the effect that Edwards was drunk when he was arrested. While this may have been the case, it does not seem to materially effect the situation, as Baltimore, who was sober, received even worse treatment at the hands of the police officers. It is also very probable that some of the leaders were inflamed with drink at the time of the outbreak. That outbreak, acccording to a statement made by Major Snow before he received orders not to talk, was not an out and out mutiny, although the men were undoubtedly guilty of repeated disobedience to orders before they left the camp. If they did, as is allleged, shoot at their officers, they did not kill or wound any of them, though they did wound a colored soldier who was guarding the ammunition supply and who later died of his wounds. When the soldiers left the camp their slogan was, "On to the Police Station," where their idea was to punish the police for their attack on Edwards and Baltimore. Even the white people of Houston do not believe that their original intention was to shoot up the town. When on the way to the police station they met with opposition, they gave battle with terrible results. As in every riot, innocent bystanders were killed, one very pathetic case being that of a little white girl who was killed by a stray bullet which penetrated the room where she slept. The bitterness of the white people over this and other casualties is understandable, but the worst features of the Houston riot do not for one moment make it comparable with the massacre of East St. Louis. It was not a cold-blooded slaughter of innocents but the work of angry men whose endurance of wrong and injustice had been strained to the breaking point, and who in their turn committed injustices. There was no burning of women and children, no hanging, no torturing of innocent victims. The only atrocity reported being the bayoneting of Captain Mattes of the Illinois National Guard, spoken of by the Houston papers as the work of "black fiends," although bayoneting is not a practice discouraged by the United States Army.

All the men who are alleged to have taken part in the outbreak have been captured and are facing a court martial at El Paso. The one fact which admits of no uncertainty is that if they are found guilty they will be fully and sufficiently punished.

After the riot the white citizens of Houston behaved with unusual coolness and restraint and they have taken unto themselves full credit for so doing. The presence of United States troops undoubtedly assisted materially in keeping order. A half hour after the riot started Governor Ferguson had declared martial law which lasted for several days and order was restored without any lynching or other form of reprisal on the part of the white people. It was not to be expected that martial law or any other kind of law could be enforced impartially under the circumstances, and it was not so enforced. White citizens were given arms "to protect their homes" and the homes of Negro civilians were visited and their arms taken away from them. Many Negroes were also unjustly arrested, locked up for several days, and then dismissed without any charge having been made against them. That further disorder did not occur under such circumstances is one of the most remarkable things about the situation, and

credit for it should be given to both races. The Houston *Post* and the white people generally explained it as another illustration of the well-known fact that "the South is the Negro's best friend"; that race riot and bloodshed are really indigenous to northern soil; and that the relations between black and white in the South are highly cordial. The colored people of Houston, however, are migrating North, and to this more than to any element in the case I attribute the new restraint in the attitude of white Houstonians. While I was in Houston, 130 colored people left in one day. In June, one labor agent exported more than nine hundred Negroes to points along the Pennsylvania Railroad. The Houston Chamber of Commerce became so alarmed over the Negro exodus that it telegraphed to the head of the railroad asking that this exportation be discontinued. The railroad complied with this request, but the colored people continued to leave. Colored men and women in every walk of life are still selling their homes and household goods at a loss and leaving because, as one of them, a physician, put it to me, "Having a home is all right, but not when you never know when you leave it in the morning if you will really be able to get back to it that night." White Houston, especially its business men, are beginning to realize this. For the first time they are showing some slight signs of seeking to make the South safe for the Negro. While the northern exodus of the Negroes, which began with the war, is largely responsible for this, occurrences such as the Houston riot must be admitted to quicken the sense of justice which has so long lain dormant in the white southern breast. However much the riot is to be condemned from the standpoint of justice, humanity, and military discipline, however badly it may be held to have stained the long and honorable record of Negro soldiers, however necessary it may be that the soldiers should be severely punished, it seems to me an undeniable fact that one of its results will be a new respect and consideration for the Negro in the South.

VOTES FOR ALL

A SYMPOSIUM

RESPONDING to your request for a brief message with regard to the Colored American and Suffrage, I wish to repeat a statement which I have made so many times that I believe the whole world is familiar with it, and that is that I hope the time will come when there will be no such thing as a Colored-American any more than a German-American or an Irish-American or any other kind of American, except a plain American citizen. What I say in regard to the vote of the American citizen I should say in regard to the vote of any citizen who is an American—that I trust we are approaching the time when every loyal, law-abiding citizen of the country shall have an equal right with every other law-abiding citizen of the United States to express, through the ballot box, the will of the citizen, regardless of sex or color, in connection with those problems of the Government which affect the lives of American citizens.

I have never been able, and doubtless never shall be able, to understand why one citizen who contributes to the support of the Government, and who is submissive to its authority, should have any more right than any other citizen, under like conditions, to free access to the ballot box.

I believe in democracy, and there is no such thing as democracy under conditions which deny to any citizen who obeys the law and contributes to the support of the Government the right to a voice in making the law.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW

Honorary President, National American Woman Suffrage Association; Chairman, Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense.

OVER in Europe the greatest war that history has ever known is shaking the foundations of kingdoms and empires. Millions of men have been blown to atoms in the Titanic struggle. Billions of dollars have been burned up in the smoke and fire of its battles. The whole world is locked in the struggle and the struggle is to the death.

What is it all about?

What is the idea underneath the horror and the heartache?

What is it for?

We all know the answer. Every soldier who straps on his knapsack and marches away to camp, bound later for "somewhere in France," every mother, every wife who weeps to see him go, every woman who steps forward to take his place in industry, even the little child who is lifted to kiss him good-by, knows the answer.

"For democracy,—for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

In those nobly simple words of the President of the United States is set forth the whole story, the great ideal, the democratic faith that is sustaining alike the men of the Allied Armies on the battlefields of Europe, the women of the world waging their own double struggle to meet the new economic demands upon them while trying to secure a voice in their own government, and the Negro facing the selfsame problem and often refusing to see that through the Negro women his race is as vitally involved in the woman suffrage question as race can be.

For just as the world war is no white man's war but every man's war, so is the struggle for woman suffrage no white woman's struggle but every woman's struggle. Once long ago, the Negro man made the white man's mistake of deciding that the suffrage was the prerogative of men only. That was just after the Civil War. He had his chance then to stand by the woman's rights cause that stood by him. He did not do it. Like the white men around him, he could not and would not recognize that women were people, and that women, as well as men, must have a voice in their own government. Like the white man, he wanted democracy applied for himself, but not for woman. That is the crucial error of all men, white or black, in their efforts to apply democracy. It seems to be wholly a matter of sex, not at all of race or color. White man, black man, Mongolian, Malay, and Redskin are wonderfully alike when it comes to counting women out in any scheme for the political salvation of the world.

But however men have seen it, and may continue for a time to see it, women do count. Everybody counts in applying democracy. And there will never be a true democracy until every responsible and law-abiding adult in it, without regard to race, sex, color or creed has his or her own inalienable and unpurchasable voice in the government. That is the democratic goal toward which the world is striving today.

In our own country woman suffrage is but one, if acute, phase of the problem. The Negro question is but another. The enfranchisement of the foreign-born peoples who sweep into this country and forget to leave the hyphen at home is yet another.

How are we so to apply democracy that one and all of these problems may be fairly and squarely met by a voice in the government?

All along the line we fail of the right answer and the whole answer. Capital clashes with labor, class clashes with class, man-made laws are imposed on women who are denied all voice in the law-making, the individual sells his vote and pockets his dollar, race is arrayed against race, even to the perpetration of some such awful crime against common humanity as that against black people in the East St. Louis horror, and in woman's own struggle for democracy we hear some such retrograde outburst as emanated from the picket prisoners at being housed with Negro prisoners —not because they were prisoners, because they were black—a strangely and cruelly undemocratic protest!

Nowhere can we find the complete working basis for the democratic ideal. Yet everywhere that ideal rises again from the ashes of our wasted effort and again moves on ahead of us, a light that beckons.

Shall we shut our eyes and see it no more, remembering how hard it is to follow?

Shall we give up because we can't make a democracy work perfectly as yet?

Shall we cry quits because our patience wears out under the sorry failures and the long delay?

We could, of course, forswear democracy and herd together under an autocracy that would whip us into a grand machine, efficient as Germany's.

But who wants to be a Germany?

With all its failures, its delays, its harsh

injustices, we will stick to democracy. We will not give up. We women, at least, will not even falter. We will press straightforward, knowing that the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy.

As suffragists we have a profound belief that with the enfranchisement of all women will come improvement in our body politic. We believe that the vote will do woman good and that women will do politics good. If we did not believe it, if we held the franchise as a light thing, to be neglected, or idly cast, or bartered and sold, it would not be worth working for, and democracy would not be worth fighting for and dying for.

For centuries women have been trying to make their convictions, their feeling against oppression, carry without the franchise. And century by century, the need of the franchise has come steadily uppermost. For decades, since women have been working for the vote, they have been urged to condemn this, espouse that, and work for the other before they get the vote, or as a condition of their getting the vote. Such delaying, such conditioning are but added affronts to democracy. As suffragists women stand on but one plank today and that the plank of equal rights, for women as for men, without delay and without conditions. Standing on that plank alone they bespeak for and from America that broad application of democracy that knows no bias on the ground of race, color, creed, or sex. To the end that Americans may stand united, not as Irish-Americans, German-Americans, Negro-Americans, Slav-Americans and "the women," but, one and all, as Americans for America.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President, National American Woman Suffrage Association.

THE colored race is a progressing race. Woman constitutes a progressing sex. This similarity should make colored men sympathetic toward woman's struggle for political freedom. Colored men in New York State have been granted the right to vote and they must realize that the ballot gives them a power that is very valuable to them in their advance toward better conditions. Women ask for that same power, colored women want that power to help the men of their race more effectively to solve their problems.

Over one million women in the State of New York have enrolled under the woman suffrage standard; 512,093 women in the City of New York have signed up for suffrage during the last few months. In view of this great demand for the ballot, men can no longer say that the women of their community do not want to vote. They can no longer say, if they oppose suffrage, that they represent women at the polls.

Women in New York City ask for the vote for many reasons. Those who pay taxes think that it is only fair that they have something to say about how the tax money shall be expended. Those who are out in the world earning their own living, and over eight hundred thousand do this in the State of New York, believe that they should have the right, accorded to men, to help make the laws that relate to labor conditions. Those who are wives and mothers want to exert influence over the public officials elected by votes who supervise the schools, the food, markets, sanitation, playgrounds, housing conditions, places of public amusement and all the things that vitally affect the welfare of the home and the children. Politics has already entered the home, therefore, it is only fair for the homemaker to have a voice in politics.

For these and other good reasons, notable among them the fact that war lays more and more burdens and responsibilities on women which should be offset by privileges and advantages, the women of New York City, colored and white alike, appeal to men to be just and democratic and to make them voting citizens. Since colored men have come forward as bravely and nobly as the men of any race to help the nation fight for democracy in Europe, I am sure they will show on election day by ballots cast in favor of suffrage that they believe in working for democracy at home. Let them vote for the woman suffrage amendment on November 6.

MARY GARRETT HAY,
Chairman of New York City Woman Suffrage Party.

Men of the Month

A LEADING EDUCATOR.

KELLY MILLER, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Howard University, was born at Winnsboro, S. C., July 23, 1863. He was graduated at Howard University in 1886 and did post-graduate work in mathematics and physics at Johns Hopkins University, 1887-89. He began his active work as a clerk in the Civil Service, then taught in the Washington High School and in 1890 became Professor of Mathematics at Howard University, a chair which he still holds.

Dr. Miller is a writer and critic of unusual power and grace. He has written two books of essays, "Race Adjustment" and "Out of the House of Bondage," and has contributed widely to periodicals and newspapers. Recently he has sent out a series of excellent brochures on various phases of the Negro problem which have had wide circulation and attracted much attention. His latest one is "The Disgrace of Democracy," an open letter to President Wilson, which is a striking contribution to war literature and has been widely commented upon.

Dr. Miller is, without doubt, not only a prominent Negro but a leading American and one of the few whose biographies are in "Who's Who."

A PHYSICIAN.

DR. CONWELL BANTON, of Wilmington, Del., was recently elected to the Board of Education of that city. He is a graduate of the Institute of Colored Youth and the School of Medicine of the University of Pennsylvania. He began his practice of medicine in Wilmington sixteen years ago. Together with Dr. J. O. Hopkins he conducts a drug business and outside of his regular work has held health-week exhibits, at which physicians, teachers and social workers have spoken, and also conducted a tuberculosis clinic at a local hospital. As a result of his efforts the Delaware Anti-Tuberculosis Society has erected Edgewood Sanitorium for colored tubercular patients. The colored people are fortunate in having Dr. Banton to represent them on the Board of Education.

A HEADWAITER.

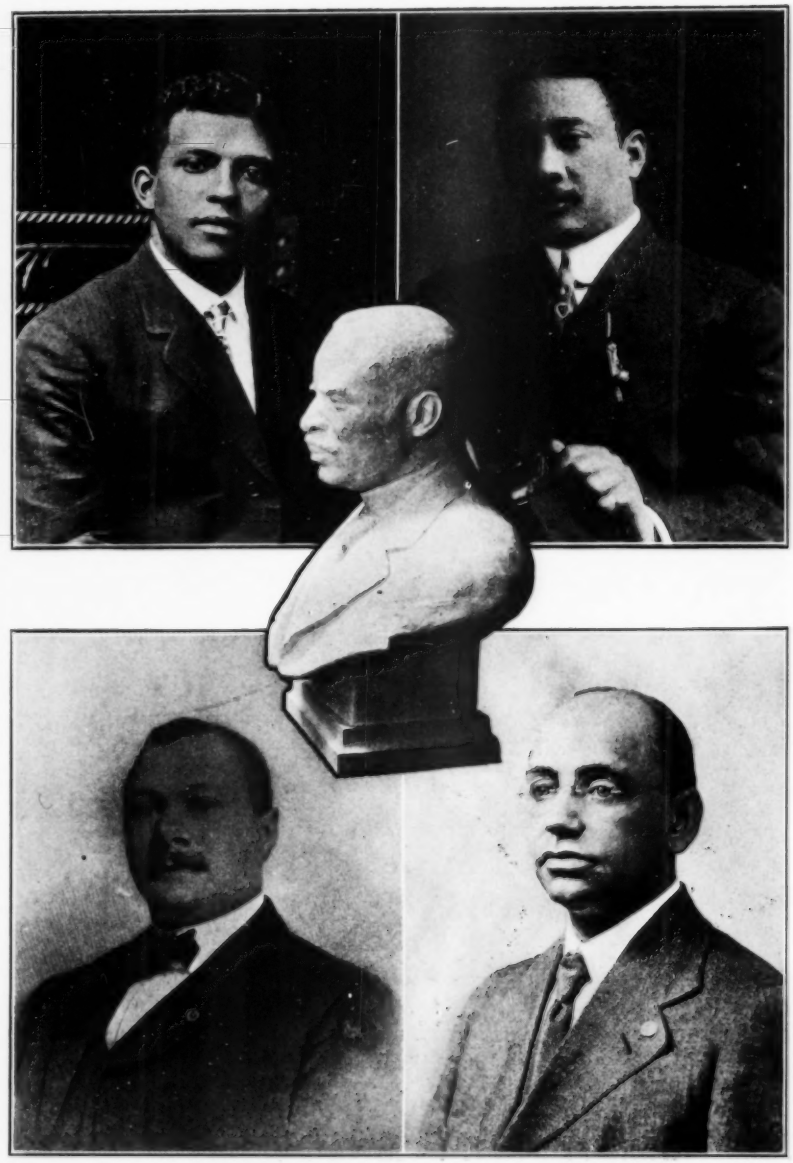
MR. WILLIAM H. WHITE, a native of North Carolina, is headwaiter at Emerson Hotel in Baltimore, Md. He has served here and at the Merchants' Club for ten years and receives a salary of $1,680 a year. Mr. White and his crew replaced white help at this leading hotel and they have given satisfaction. He and his men contributed recently $1,000 to the Provident Hospital Fund, and in many other ways Mr. White has shown himself a public-spirited citizen.

A CITY COUNCILMAN.

WHEN West Virginia's Democratic state law librarian recently assumed office his first official act was directed toward the removal of James Arthur Jackson, who had served as assistant librarian for sixteen years under men of his own race. So indispensable were his services considered by the Judges of the Supreme Court and members of the Bar, Democratic and Republican, throughout the state, that pressure had been brought to bear on the governor-elect to retain Mr. Jackson, even before his chief had been decided upon. Mr. Jackson remained in office, but thought seriously of resigning, because of the humiliations to which he was subjected. In the meantime, the bench and bar had again busied themselves in his behalf. The result was the creation by the legislature of the office of Supreme Court librarian and page, to which Mr. Jackson was immediately appointed by the Supreme Court judges. The tenure of this office is not dependent upon changes of administration. Mr. Jackson is, therefore, assured of the position as long as he cares to hold it.

A LIBRARIAN.

HARRY SMYTHE CUMMINGS was born in Baltimore, Md., May 19, 1866, and died September 7, 1917. He was educated at Morgan College and graduated from Lincoln University in 1886. He took his law course at the University of Maryland and soon after graduation was elected a member of the City Council from the Eleventh Ward. He has served in this capacity for thirteen years, a longer term than any other councilman. He has done much for Negro education while in the Council and was, at the time of his death, working to secure a much-needed modern high school building. At the Presidential convention in 1904 he made a national reputation by his speech seconding Roosevelt's nomination. He leaves a widow and four children.



J. A. JACKSON W. H. WHITE

KELLY MILLER

After the Bust by May Howard Jackson

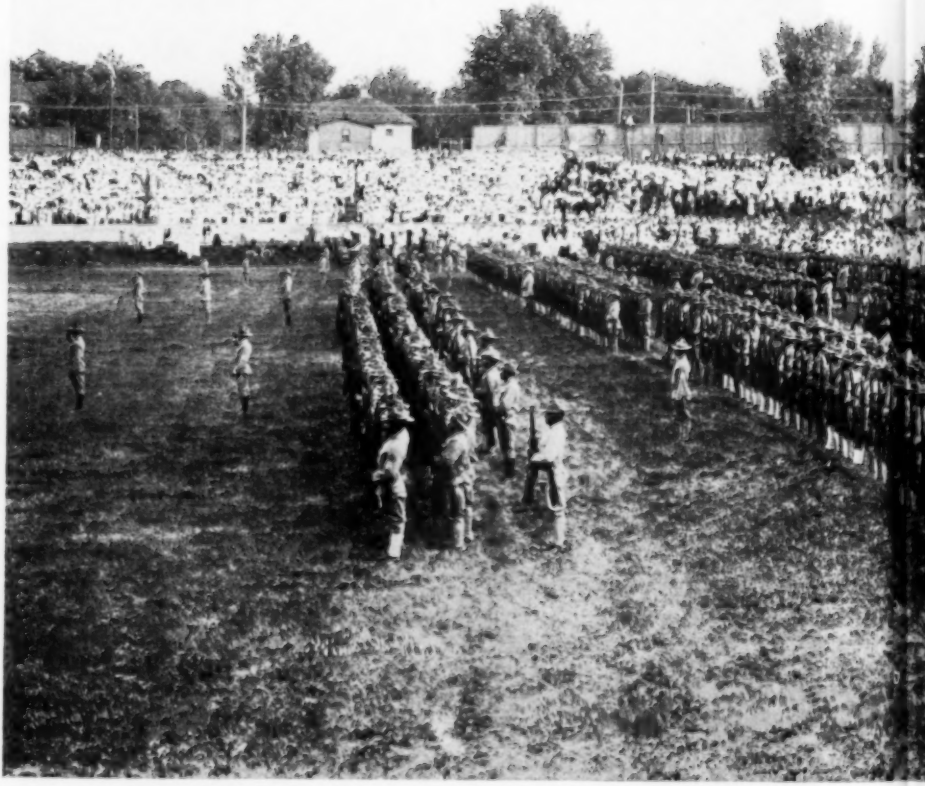
THE LATE H. S. CUMMINGS DR. C. BANTON

Shadows of Light

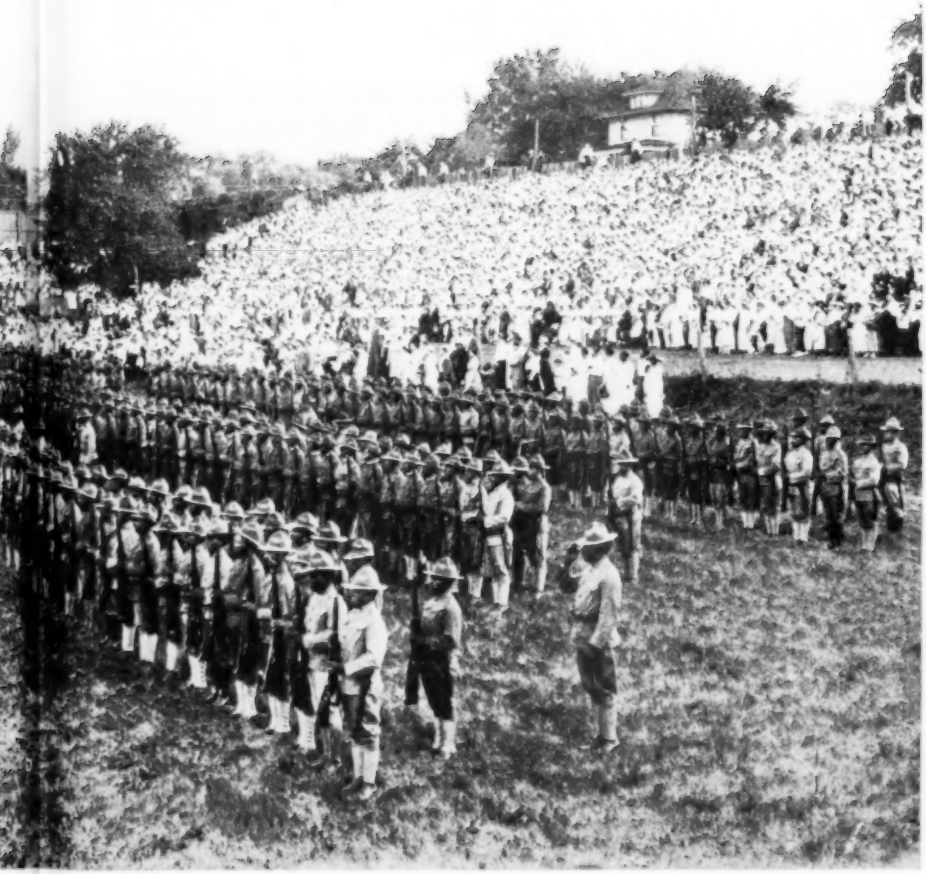
MRS. CORALIE FRANKLIN COOK

Member of the Board of Education, District of Columbia; born at Lexington, Va.; educated at Storer College; wife of George William Cook, Secretary of Howard University.

THE EMPRESS TAITOU, WIDOW OF THE LATE MENELIK II. EMPEROR OF ABYSSINIA, AND MOTHER OF THE PRESENT EMPRESS OUIZERO ZEODITU.



CADETS OF OFFICERS' TRAINING CAMP NO. 17, AT FORT DES MOINES, IOWA, WHO WILL CEI



LL CEIVE THEIR COMMISSIONS AS OFFICERS IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY THIS MONTH.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

DOROTHY CANFIELD, the novelist, writes in the *Outlook* of heartbreaking experiences in Belgium. A woman tells her:

"We have tried, you know, to keep the children as busy as possible with their studies, so that they would not have leisure to brood over what they see and hear every day. I've had little Marguerite go on with her English lessons steadily and read as much English as possible. One of the books her teacher gave her was 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' She looked up from it one day, with a pale face, and said, in a sad, wondering voice: 'Why, auntie, this might have been written about us, mightn't it? It tells about things that happen to us all the time—that we have seen. The men who are flogged and starved and killed, the mothers trying in vain to follow their daughters into captivity, the young girls dragged out of their fathers' arms—it's all just like what the Germans do to us, isn't it?'"

A "Study of Economic Co-operation Among the Negroes of Georgia," issued as Atlanta University Publication, Number nineteen, has been edited by Thomas I. Brown. It is, in reality, a study of Negro business enterprises, of which it finds 577 in the City of Atlanta, capitalized at $651,000, and owning property to the value of over $1,000,000. They do an annual business of over $6,000,000, with an average annual profit of $650,000. Twenty-three hundred colored people are employed and 61 per cent. of the patronage is colored.

Throughout the whole State of Georgia, 1,907 businesses were listed, capitalized at nearly $2,000,000, with $2,500,000 worth of property and an average annual business of $15,000,000. They employ over 5,000 people. Among the businesses are 359 grocery stores, 249 restaurants, 207 barber shops, 144 shoe repairers, 65 blacksmith shops, etc.

The *Journal of Heredity* for October has a full-page picture of Colonel Young and something about Negro soldiers. Perhaps most interesting to us is a statement of the present scientific division of races, which replaces the old fairy-tale about the "Aryans":

The Nordic race probably took its present form somewhere in eastern Russia, although it may have come from Africa at an earlier period in the world's pre-history. It is one of the three principal races of Europe, the other two being the Mediterranean and the Alpine. The former came into Europe from the south—*i. e.*, Africa—and is represented mainly by the Latin races; in appearance it differs from the Nordic mainly in being shorter and darker. The Alpine race is made up of a flood of round-headed, long-bearded invaders who came from middle Asia, bringing copper implements and spreading over the Balkans and the near east until they pushed a wedge clear across Europe to the Atlantic.

ELECTION LAWS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

AN extraordinary revelation of election methods in South Carolina is contained in a series of editorials in the Columbia, S. C., *State:*

Opinion is growing in South Carolina that the time has arrived for far reaching changes in the election laws. On the one hand it is said that the intricacy of the ballot restrictions is no longer necessary and no longer serves its original purpose. Another view is that the only safety lies in adding to the suffrage restrictions.

After the restoration of the government to white men in 1877, ballot restriction was one of the first great tasks undertaken. The late General Edward McCrady, of Charleston, devised the "eight box law" and perhaps the registration law, too. The former was in its operation an educational qualification. Underlying both statutes was the aim that they would reduce the Negro vote more than the white. . . . . .

The suffrage limitations imposed by the Constitution of 1895 had little or no effect on the voting by Negroes. The registration and eight box laws would, perhaps, have continued to keep the Negroes out of politics. In Georgia no constitutional convention has been held to restrict Negro suffrage, and Georgia has had no more trouble with the Negro vote than South Carolina has had.

In 1892 the primary for the nomination of state officers and U. S. senators was adopted and in 1896 it was adopted in its present form. For the last twenty years it has been incomparably more effective in disfranchising the Negroes than the constitutional qualifications have been. The Negroes have never had a majority in South Carolina, except when manhood suffrage practically was without qualification. The slightest statutory restrictions gave and still give the whites a majority; hence, so

long as the whites nominate as a party and stand together in the general election the Negro is politically defunct. Of course, there is nothing in the Constitution or the statutes, federal or state, prohibiting the formation of a racial political party.

The object of South Carolina election laws is frankly stated:

To be kept in mind is that in all legislation in South Carolina relating to elections and registrations since 1876 the foremost object has been to restrict the ballot so that the whites shall dominate the state despite the majority of the Negro population. At first the aim was to preserve white supremacy. Later this was enlarged to a purpose to confine the elections to the whites and this has been effected by the substitution of the white state primary for the general election. Before the emancipation of the Negroes only the whites voted. So long as we have a white racial primary, which the white voters accept as the final election, the condition preceding emancipation is restored, with the important qualification that the white electorate has been enlarged.

The number of possible Negro voters under honest election laws is thus stated:

To arrive at the number of Negro males who could qualify as voters, under the law, is, to a large extent, a matter of guessing. If, however, there are 30,000 who pay taxes on property assessed at $300 or more, some of these are illiterate and are to be added to the number that could qualify by reason of ability to read and write. We reach the conclusion that under the present constitution and statutes there are at least 50,000 and possibly 60,000 Negroes in the state who might under a fair administration of the law qualify to vote. There are at least 135,000 or 140,000 white males who could qualify and there should, therefore, be a white majority in the state of 75,000—or the proportion should be more than two to one in favor of the whites.

Finally we come to the crux of the matter:

In view of the fact that, soon or late, there may be a division of the white people of South Carolina, the plain and inescapable mandate of common sense is that the suffrage and election laws be surrounded with every possible safeguard calculated to confine the voting in general elections to the most intelligent and informed class of Negroes. It was the advice and wish of Abraham Lincoln to give the suffrage only to the most worthy and intelligent Negroes and in that, as in many other things, Lincoln was wise, just, and far-seeing.

But the *State* hesitates at its own logic. "Go slowly" it advises:

Under present conditions the simplification of voting is dangerous. Less than any other state, except Mississippi, because of the preponderence of Negro population, South Carolina should move slowly toward democratic government—or government by all the people. Our government must be, for a long time, representative, not democratic. Government by a part of the people is necessary in South Carolina, unless we wish to have government by blacks and whites.

The *State* can think of no just and lawful way of excluding the great majority of Negroes from the polls and preserving, for a long time, a great white majority, except by rigid educational qualifications, and it can think of none of these that will not prevent a few whites from voting.

To this we must come in South Carolina or commit the white people as a whole, for the sake of the 15 per cent of illiterates, to a course of corruption and fraud.

Meantime, what about this dominant white majority? Is it honest and efficient? It is not. It is dishonest. It cheats itself! It produces Bleases and Tillmans. *Hinc illae lachrimae!*

The most discouraging symptom now observable in South Carolina is an unwillingness to enforce the election laws that we have. The registration is loose and the methods of it, in many places, utterly at variance with the purposes of the constitution and statutes. We have rigorous statutes against the corruptions of voters in primaries and against frauds. Charges of infraction are numerous. This year, and in former years, politicians have set up that they were cheated, and have vociferously declared that they had the evidence. But no one prosecutes. No one swears out a warrant. The evidence is pigeonholed.

If the charges that frauds are committed be true, and if it be true that the evidence of it is ample, the only conclusion from the failure to prosecute is that there is no wish to put an end to frauds in South Carolina primaries. The Australian ballot system would greatly increase the difficulty of election crimes, but nothing will end them so long as the people and their leaders tolerate them. * * * *

Without efficient administration of our registration laws, to which some new legislation is perhaps a condition precedent, there can be no permanent security for good government under our present election system. During forty years South Carolina has drifted along on the assumption that in elections all white men are honest, so far as white men are concerned, with the result that the way has been left open for dishonest white men to practice frauds with the greatest facility and freedom from detection.

In hundreds of precincts, a majority of them, the people are honest. In them there has never been a thought of cheating. These people, in the country precincts es-

pecially, do not ask to be paid for conducting an election. Hence, they are unwilling to incur any expense, as taxpayers, for the protection of the elections in other precincts. They fancy that because they are honest all other voters are and the thought of an Australian ballot law, with its expense and slight inconvenience, offends them. They are opposed to innovation. Rather than submit to it, they are entirely willing to jog along and allow their votes to be cancelled by some rotten precinct where heelers abound who see to it that fraudulent votes are cast or that honest votes are fraudulently counted.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN TENNESSEE

ON Sunday, January 21, 1917, the staff correspondent of the Memphis, Tenn., *Commercial Appeal* wrote from the State Capitol as follows:

The main question before many of the legislators now is the suffrage question. It is particularly important since the poll tax provision has been eliminated from the woman suffrage bill, and since the Republicans, on account of that elimination, have come over so unitedly for it. What effect, if any, will the extension of the franchise to women on Presidential elections in Tennessee have on the state's vote hereafter in the electoral question?

The Republicans could have killed the woman suffrage bill which the House passed Friday. At any stage of the proceedings they could have cast their strength to the minority on the Democratic side. They have twenty-seven votes in the House. The Democrats voted twenty-four against woman suffrage, and if the situation had not been so strongly in favor of the question a half dozen others who voted yes would have been recorded as voting no.

But to analyze: When the bill was up in the Senate four of the six Republicans there were unalterably against it. Senator Houk, of Knox, favored it, but his colleague, Senator Ogle, was undecided. The Republicans of the House were openly declaring themselves this way and that, without any indication of a fixed determination. Even Thursday found them divided. When they took their seats in the House Friday morning every single one of them was enthusiastic for the bill. The old argument that they did not propose to vote for a bill that would only increase the Democratic strength of Tennessee gave way to a hearty support and even leadership. The Republican floor leaders took a decidedly active part in the debates and the arguments leading up to the passage of the bill. The elimination of the poll tax caught them.

Of course, it is not proper to question any motives, except those which may show politics. It is true that the bill, as passed by the House, gives every woman in the state the right to vote, and that vote may be cast without the payment of a poll tax. Every woman, white or black, in Tennessee can go to the ballot box, if this bill is passed, and cast a vote without any poll tax receipt.

This has set the west Tennessee Democrats to thinking. The Senate is yet to consider the bill. There are ten senators from west Tennessee. Of course, if every white woman in west Tennessee should go to the polls and vote as her husband has been voting, the Democratic majority would be increased from 20,000 to 40,000. But, they argue, what would have been the situation in *Memphis* last *November?*

There are some ambitious Negroes in Memphis. They undertook to make themselves felt at the polls. Not only did they undertake to carry Shelby County for Hughes for President, but they got out candidates of their own, *and those candidates ran second.*

And this was done, too, after the Negroes themselves had paid upwards of $3,000 poll taxes. If they had had no poll taxes to pay, there is no telling how many would have voted. There is no telling how many women they would have been able to corral and lead to the polls. These observations are not urged by Democrats as reasons why the suffrage should not be extended, but, after all, they are food for thought. They are such good food that the Senate, no doubt, will seriously consider the question of putting the poll tax clause back into the bill.

It is a question that will be seriously considered by west Tennessee senators from counties in which the Negro population exceeds the white population.

These west Tennessee senators are confronted with this also: That the Negro woman is far less ready for the important and sacred right of voting than the Negro man. The man has had fifty years of it, and still it is a novelty to him. Certainly, the ballot in the hands of Negro women, without any restrictions, would at least remind the older citizens of the wild and exciting times in reconstruction days.

That is the plain truth of the whole matter.

It is a proposition that west Tennessee Democrats should wrestle with long and patiently. It is not a question of denying the right to vote; it is a question of throwing the proper safeguards around the ballot box.

In county after county in west Tennessee there is not even a registration required, nor is the Dortch ballot voted. The women would have the right to vote for President. The laws of the United States would apply, and those laws and their judges are sometimes pretty diligent about seeing that voters are not interfered with in federal elections. The Republicans last fall sent $50,000 into Tennessee to throw this state against Woodrow Wilson.

It occurs to many that if our good women want to vote it would not be ungallant to suggest that they pay (two dollars) a year to the public schools for the privilege. They

are perfectly willing to do so if the legislature requires it.

The Republicans for forty years have fought against a poll tax qualification. Now, under this bill, half of the voters are exempt from poll tax.

It is worth thinking about.

So much for the thinking of the South on woman suffrage. As a sequel a colored Tennessee correspondent writes us:

The suffrage bill for women passed in the House, and was killed in the Senate, for no other reason than they did not want Negro women to have the right to vote. They remembered the activity of the Lincoln League, at the polls in Memphis and Shelby County last Fall, and they feared the results if they passed the suffrage bill with, or without, the poll tax qualification.

PHILLIP, DRUNK AND SOBER

THE columbia, S. C., *State* complains that the Negro problem keeps the South continually "explaining." It does; and unless these explanations are a little less contradictory in the future than they have been for some months past, they will leave an unpleasant taste in the mouths of honest readers.

For instance:

EDUCATION

Instead of taking him into our white schools we provide schools where he may be educated as a Negro, not as a nondescript pariah, respected by nobody, embarrassed, embittered and handicapped by compulsory association with a superior race.—Beaumont, Tex., *Enterprise.*

The rural schools for Negro children where they exist at all are a joke.

There are in Texas some 200,000 Negro children of scholastic age, the great majority of whom live in the rural districts. The $1,500,000 of the State school fund, which constitutes the Negroes' share, is for the greater part diverted to the white schools in most counties.—Houston, Tex., *Post.*

WAGES

The Negro earns as a rule more money in the South than in the North. The Negro as a rule lives better in the South than in the North, and with far less exertion on his part. In sickness he is treated as well or better here than there, and in death he is buried

That they are underpaid is a fact well nigh universally admitted. Their wages in general are such as they can not live on comfortably and they are often forced to steal or starve. The homes rented to them are nothing short of a scandal to us. The Negro quarters in quite as decently. Here is his opportunity; here in the South he may be all he is worthy of being; he can work out his destiny unhampered by restrictions of any kind beyond the rule of separation of the races.—Beaumont, Tex., *Enterprise.*

our cities are places of darkness, filth and neglect. They become veritable incubators of every kind of disease to be distributed by them throughout our cities and states. Our laws are discriminatory in their application toward them, criminal traps are set for them in business transactions and when the plot matures they are punished for the sins which others have committed against them.—Correspondent in Columbia, S. C., *State.*

TREATMENT

So long as the Negro remains in his place in the Southland, he is going to be treated right by the whites, who know and understand him. And he is going to get a fair deal here. — Columbus, Ga., *Ledger.*

Only a few days ago two young Negroes, who left Lowndes County the latter part of last year because they could not make a living (and against the will of the white man whom they had been working for all their lives, for nothing), hearing that their old father was dying, went back to see the last of him. Simply because they would not agree to stay, the white man, as usual, began to cuff and kick them around. When they attempted to defend themselves, and having made their way to Montgomery, they were arrested as they started to board the train for Birmingham, where they had work. Carried back, on the way a mob, as usual, overpowered the sheriff and hanged them both to the first tree they could find, simply because they would not stay and work on the farm, where they could not even get enough to eat.—Letter from Birmingham, Ala., in New York *Sun.*

MIGRATION

If the Negro prefers the North to the South; if he prefers the opportunities there to the opportunities under Southern skies, then let him go, and may peace go with him. —Fort Worth, Tex., *Record.*

Sheriff Alcorn of Chicot County publishes a notice to planters in the Chicot *Spectator* asking them to notify him of supposed agents who claim to be selling small articles to the Negroes. The sheriff's information is that these supposed agents or peddlers are labor agents from the North, and he advises plantation owners to warn them that they will be arrested and prosecuted if they attempt to spread dissatisfaction among the laborers in Chicot County. — Forest City, Ark., *Messenger.*

THE COURTS

"At that moment a black form was seen to move forward through the Confederate lines, and, in spite of the lead and iron hail, he rushed to the wounded officer. He took him in his arms tenderly and carried him back to safety. That Colonel was my brother. A hero who could do that at Gettysburg cannot be a murderer. Stand up, Tom, and open your shirt."

The prisoner rose, opened his shirt and showed the scar of the wound which marked his heroic devotion to his master. Not another word did the brilliant orator utter. He submitted the case to the white jury before him and without leaving their seats they rendered the verdict of not guilty.

Generally this is the attitude today of the white people of the South toward the Negro. — New Orleans, La., *States.*

In Roland v. State in the Supreme Court of Tennessee (May, 1917, 194 S. W., 1097), a conviction of a Negro for an alleged assault upon a white woman was reversed because of gross misconduct of the public prosecutor in summing up to the jury. The court observes that "the situation was one calculated to excite the strongest passions of the jurors." The principal question was as to the identity of the assailant. The defendant had introduced proof of an alibi, and several witnesses, including respectable Negroes and two white men, testified to the defendant's good character. This being the situation, the assistant district attorney, after animadverting upon the Negro witnesses, said:

"But even at that, I have more respect for these nigger witnesses than I have for these two white witnesses who have volunteered to come here and testify in favor of a nigger that he has a good reputation." — New York *Law Journal.*

FARMERS

Additional legislation may be necessary to reach the drifting Negroes, but all should be rounded up without delay, and those fit for service in the army sent to France, and all others placed under guard and forced to get busy on the Southern farm. These blacks have no business in the North making trouble when they can be used to so much advantage in the South, or in France.

By all means these Negroes should be gathered up at once and pressed into service of the country, and at the same time, especial attention should be directed to labor agents.— Columbus, Ga., *Ledger.*

There is money in farming, lots of it, but the Negro farmer has been systematically robbed by the white man since the close of the Civil War. They haven't been treated right and no one can blame them for quitting the soil. If the Negro farmers would be returned all the interest in excess of 8 per cent. charged them for money advanced them, they would today be living in brownstone mansions, just as the rich white advancers do. — Mayor W. T. Robinson, Montgomery, Ala.

MOBS

As twelve persons were killed and seventy were murderously assaulted, and as, by all accounts, a number took part in each assault, it is clear that several hundred murderers or would-be murderers are at large in this community. — Report of the white City Committee on the Atlanta riot, 1906.

In the South even lawless punishment runs against the individual. In the North it runs against the entire membership of the race that is in sight. —Memphis, Tenn., *Commercial-Appeal.*

Southern people engage in an occasional lynching bee, but they never murder Negroes in wholesale lots like they do in East St. Louis, Springfield, Ill., and Fort Wayne, Ind.—Sioux City, Iowa, *Tribune.*

INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

A compromise of the controversy concerning the driving

In his address to the Rotary Club yesterday, President I.

of automobiles by Negroes has been agreed upon by committees representing the white churches of Miami and the colored Board of Trade.

The terms of the proposed compromise are:

Negroes are to be fully protected in their right to drive their own cars.

Negroes are to be allowed to drive buses and cars for hire, for the transportation of Negroes only.

The solicitation of Negro patronage by white car and bus drivers is to be discouraged as far as possible. — Miami, Fla., *Metropolis*.

H. Fetty of the Port Wentworth Lumber Company predicted for Savannah a wonderful industrial future, but he directed attention also to a lamentable obstacle; the shortage of labor. He urged upon the civic organizations and business men of Savannah the imperative need of such steps as will check the outgoing tide of Negroes and attract additional Negro laborers to the city.—Savannah, Ga., *News*.

PERSONAL SAFETY

Every decent Negro at the South is as safe in his life, his liberty and his property as the decent white man. It is only the vicious Negro who is unsafe in the South.—Mobile, Ala., *Ledger*.

If a Negro should insult me, as a white man, the community would expect me to forcibly resent it. Because the RULING sentiment demands that ALL white men must do so, for our mutual protection. If I did that and the Negro beat me instead, then the community, this community, any community, whether they liked me or not, would be forced to beat the Negro to show others that they must not strike a white man. If he resisted and fought back they would kill him. That is the case of Anthony Crawford, and it will be the same with any other Negro in any community who dares to raise his hand against white men, no matter what the immediate cause. —Abbeville, S. C., *Scimitar*.

Which is the real South? Which papers are telling the truth and which are writing for "Northern Consumption?" We are not pausing for replies.

BLACK SOLDIERS

THE letter of Colonel Charles Young, anent his retirement, is published in the *Pittsburg Courier* and is a document of which any race may be proud:

S. O. No. 175, War Department, retires me from active service with the rank of Colonel and places me on active military duty with the Militia, State of Ohio. Since the Militia is mustered into the service I am, so far as that goes, jobless at this date.

It seems regrettable for both the country and our people, for I could have done good work for both, but as the President willed it and ordered it, I submit cheerfully, like a soldier. He is the Commander-in-Chief, you know.

Perhaps I may yet be able to convince the authorities that I am not sick and thus be permitted to serve. While I know the chagrin that many of our people, and not a few whites, feel in this regard, still I pray that there shall be no word of protest at this time. Let us not embarrass the administration which has only too many serious problems on its hands anyway. We love our country too well not to desire its early success in this war. If its interests can be best subserved by the attitude which in spite of ourselves and our desires seems to be shaping itself toward colored officers, we are too broadminded not to allow it free hand. . . .

In spite of the findings of the doctors in my case (and I believe them sincere and perfectly honest and upright in their dealings) still I am not now nor have I felt a sick moment. I believe my case is a supernormal one in which the high blood pressure is compensatory for the great amount of work that in recent years has fallen to my lot in the Tropics, and I believed such to be the final opinion of the board. But let it go as it is. I mention this fact to simply reassure any and all that physically I believe myself in condition to render as full and as strenuous service as ever, when the occasion arises.

Testimony of the efficiency of Negro troops abroad continues to come. It is said that the German line has been broken but once during the war and that by black Turcos, who penetrated to a depth of ten miles. They were not taken prisoners. They were surrounded by Germans and shot to death in cold blood.

The *Southern Workman* quotes Hugh Brown as saying of the Senegalese:

They are excellent with the bayonet and stand the strain in the trenches even better than some of the white troops. It is particularly significant that the Senegalese Negroes were used to aid in the retaking of Douamont; it is an excellent compliment to their ability. In glancing over the art posters of the war and the literature of the last year, one finds any number of references to

the *soldats noirs* of France. They have made a name for themselves.

Not only are the Senegalese troops brave and efficient, but they have the physical strength which enables them to undergo constant fighting with but little food and rest. They have more than once formed the backbone of France's fighting force. They have fought in the battles of Champagne, Soissons and Verdun in France. They were in the expedition at the Dardanelles and afterward in Northern Greece and Serbia. They have been worthy of the French.

The correspondent for the *New York Tribune* writes from France, concerning the black troops in Africa:

The American was loud in his praises of the black troops. He thought them the superior of any soldiers for African work and almost the best for warfare in any clime.

"I never saw such courage as the King's African Rifles displayed under fire," he said. "These were men recruited out of savage tribes and given perhaps a year's training in soldiering.

"We had a very heavy scrimmage with the Germans one day and an officer was hit. He managed to crawl behind a bush, but the Germans had him spotted as a white man and kept peppering away to finish him. One of our black soldiers, about thirty yards off, crawled very cautiously to the bush, keeping under cover, and then suddenly stood up and began to limp away. He succeeded in fooling the Germans into thinking he was the wounded officer and he drew all the fire away from the bush and on himself. He was hit a dozen times. We got him to a field hospital, and he was still conscious."

In America, alas, we are still wandering in the shadows, although Secretary Baker, according to the *Army and Navy Journal*, has made the following announcement:

The rule of the Regular Army in the matter of the training of colored troops, which is that they are trained in separate organizations, will be adhered to. The call for colored men will be postponed until one of the later calls, so that they will be called at a separate time, giving an opportunity to the officers at the camps to assemble the organizations, of which they are a part, substantially all at one time. They will not be the last called, but they will be called separately. All colored men called in a state which has a cantonment in it will be organized and trained there; provision will be made, but it has not yet been made for the assembling of colored troops for training from those states which have not cantonments of their own. An opportunity will be given to both white and colored men, among the selected forces, to volunteer for training service and in line of communication organization, which it is necessary to organize, and it is hoped that an adequate number will volunteer for this military but non-combatant service; but there will be both combatant and non-combatant organizations of colored men just as there are for white men.

Incipient trouble at Camp Upton, L. I., has been quickly dealt with, according to the *Brooklyn Eagle*:

From all accounts the colored troops were not the aggressors, but once the trouble started they were ready for it. Since the men have been in camp they have been continually made the butt of abuse of the white workmen who unfortunately are quartered within a stone's throw of the Negro quarters.

Disorder was quickly quelled and the colored troops unmolested.

Even in the South there are signs of sanity. The Charlotte, N. C., *News* says on hearing that colored soldiers are coming:

There must be displayed by them a recognition that the colored man has rights, inalienable rights, that he has come forward just as his white neighbor to put his life at the disposal of his government, that he has made himself ready for whatever sufferings and sacrifices may be thrust upon him, that he has yielded himself to the test, that he will unstintedly and unselfishly toss himself into the oceans of anguish whose waves are rolling through Europe. He must be dealt with as a patriotic citizen. From the people of this community who will make exactions of him he has a right to take a toll of respect and wholesome regard. If he is treated otherwise, he will keenly feel the pangs of it, and disorder and discord and mutiny may arise. If he is insulted and made to believe that he is unworthy of the uniform his government has clothed him with, naturally enough, there will be resentment which is the first flame of revolt. The obligations entailed by the incident are many, and they rest more heavily, we are of a mind to believe, upon the white man than upon the Negro.

The Lexington, Ky., *Herald* denies that there was any such race riot as the Associated Press reported:

Impossible it is to estimate accurately the damage done to Lexington, because of these widespread publications. Yet in the highest sense, that damage is the smaller part of the injustice done. The Negroes of the United States will be called upon, have been called upon to serve in the armies of the nation. Hundreds of them have volunteered. Thousands of them are as ready as any men of Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Gaelic, or Teutonic blood to give their lives for the only nation they know in which they have risen from a state of slavery to a state of independence. When they wear the uniform of the nation, when they are sent to France, there to shed their blood and give their lives, they are not only the wards but the defenders of the nation.

There could be no greater damage done than to foment between the races inhabiting

this country an unfriendly or hostile spirit. Unfortunate, criminally unwise, has been the policy of some of the public officials of the Southern States in drawing a distinction between the white and colored troops. Every community should welcome the presence of any troops, it matters not what their color may be, who wear the uniform of the nation and are ready to give their lives in defense of the nation. If this nation cannot so train and discipline its troops that there will not be such outbreaks as that which occurred at Houston, there is but little hope of its winning the war against Germany.

If any community cannot so regulate and manage its own affairs, as to prevent what seeems to be the unjustifiable attacks on individual soldiers by the peace officers of Houston, that community is not representative of American ideals or American purpose.

A colored man, D. W. Cannon, writes thus plainly to the *Atlanta Constitution:*

You further admonish, and I fully agree with you, that the Negro must feel that he is on trial to-day as never before in history; and as one engaged in the educational and religious training of the Negro and who will do his part to help save the Negro young men who will be at Camp Gordon, I assure you that our boys there will deport themselves as becometh soldiers going out to do and die for the Stars and Stripes.

But I ask that you be as careful to admonish the white people of this community that these soldiers are human and know when they are treated right and feel as keenly as anybody else an unnecessary insult. Also, remind the white people that in some crisis across the sea, these same black boys, whom they fear and the wisdom of whose presence they question, may eventually have to save the shattered remnants of some company of their own white sons who may have fallen into some trap set by the wily and resourceful Germans.

Treat the Negro soldiers right! And you will have no more trouble with them than you will have with white soldiers.

Our Dumb Animals finds this clear voice:

Unless the Government of the United States sets itself resolutely to protect the sacred rights of its citizens, who, at last, will blame the twelve millions of the colored race if they rise in determined rebellion to vindicate their rights by the only forces left at their command? No other race has equalled, in patient suffering of injustice and wrong, the colored race. At times it has almost seemed as if they had won their plea for justice by obedience to the Christian teaching of returning good for evil. But they, too, are human, and the day may be nearer than we think when lowly, enduring patience, outraged beyond measure, will give way to the spirit which will demand justice. It was out of this spirit that America was born.

Put yourself, white American citizen, in the colored man's place! How long would you endure at the hands of your fellow-citizens the cruel injustices that are being heaped upon him?

HOUSTON

THE Twenty-fourth Infantry, which made the outbreak at Houston, Tex., was with General Pershing in Mexico. He said to them and to the colored Tenth Cavalry, December 27, 1916:

"Men, I am authorized by Congress to tell you all that our people back in the States are mighty glad and proud at the way the soldiers have conducted themselves while in Mexico, and I, General Pershing, can say with pride that a finer body of men never stood under the flag of our nation as we find here tonight."

But *The Public* knows better and has this extraordinary editorial:

What was looked upon as an accident at Brownsville will now be considered by many as an inherent weakness of character; and it may take generations to live it down. But whatever the cause it must be removed. The Negro is a part of our citizenship. If he is not worthy of that responsibility he must be made so. If there is a weakness in his moral nature that has given way under the terrible strain of race prejudice it must be fortified.

Miss B. W. Stillman, a white teacher, wrote the following letter in answer to this extraordinary statement:

"A weakness in *his* moral nature?"—What about the moral nature of the whites in East St. Louis? What about the moral nature of the lynching mobs? What about the moral nature of those who put through segregation laws, "Jim Crow" laws?

George Eliot makes one of her characters say, in substance, "I'm not denying the women are foolish; God Almighty made them to match the men." And I say, "I'm not denying there is moral weakness in the nature of the Negro; God Almighty made them to match the rest of humanity."

This country demands that the Negroes risk their lives in this war, "to make the world safe for democracy," and then, while they are making ready for the sacrifice, it is made very plain, in many galling ways, that they are not considered the equals of the white men whose dangers they are to share. Would the moral nature of all whites (who, by the way, on the whole have far greater opportunities for growth and development) stand such a strain? If it were not so tragic, it would be humorous. Democracy!

Instead of suggesting moral weakness in the Negro will not *The Public*, which so often speaks eloquently for fundamental democracy, cry out against the moral weakness of the white citizens in their relations to the Negro?

This letter *The Public* refused to publish, a thing that could not have happened under the editorship of Louis F. Post.

The Horizon

POLITICS.

TWO colored candidates in New York City were nominated by the Republican Party; Attorney E. A. Johnson for the Assembly of the Nineteenth District and Attorney James C. Thomas, Jr., for the Twenty-sixth Aldermanic District of the Twenty-first Assembly District.

ATTORNEY J. C. THOMAS, JR.

¶ Colored women suffragists were in attendance at the convention of the Suffragists at Saratoga, N. Y.

THE WAR.

THE power shops at Springfield, Mass., are being guarded by 125 colored soldiers from Connecticut.

¶ Information from Red Cross headquarters at Washington, D. C., states that 150 colored registered nurses are to be selected for a Government Base Hospital at Des Moines, Iowa, in connection with the training camp for colored troops.

¶ The colored draft will consist of eighty-three thousand troops distributed among sixteen cantonments. From these a Negro division of thirty thousand, officered by the colored officers from Des Moines, will be organized for service in France. Beside these, volunteer units for labor will be organized among both white and colored persons.

RIOTS.

THE September Grand Jury has not yet taken up the investigation into the race riots in East St. Louis, Ill. The last Grand Jury indicted 144 persons and recommended that the new Grand Jury continue the work. Though the Grand Jury at Bellville indicted Mayor Mollman and his private secretary, Maurice Ahearn, as a result of the recent riots, the Mayor says: "As far as the recommendation of the Grand Jury, that I resign pending trial, is concerned, it is too silly to discuss." While only *one* white man has been tried, *ten* Negroes have been convicted of murder!

¶ Speaker Clark of the House has named Representatives Johnson of Kentucky, Baker of California, Foster of Illinois, Democrats; Cooper of Wisconsin and Foss of Illinois, Republicans, to investigate the recent race riots in East St. Louis, Ill.

¶ Lee Sparks, a police officer in Houston, Tex., has been indicted by the Harris County Grand Jury for assault on Sergt. Baltimore, a Negro trooper of the 24th Infantry, and with murder in connection with the death of Wallace Williams, a Negro civilian. Chief of Police Brock testified that his orders to policemen to treat colored troopers with restraint were stolen from two record books, and Lee Sparks denied ever having heard such an order.

¶ Race rioting was renewed in Chester, Pa., September 16 when George Ford, a Negro, shot Patrolman Joseph Hardman

ATTORNEY E. A. JOHNSON.

INDUSTRY.

MR. WILL TURNER, a colored farmer in Lebanon, Ill., thrashed 4,082 bushels of wheat this season, which he sold at an average of $2.43 per bushel. This crop was gathered from 175 acres.

¶ Colored women are loading and unloading freight in the New York Central yards in Cleveland, Ohio. Their wage is $2.60 per day.

¶ Messrs. W. H. C. Brown, Watt Terry and E. C. Brown, Negro bankers and real estate operators, took over the property of the Philton Holding Company in Harlem, New York, which was controlled by the late Philip A. Payton. Mr. Terry then bought out his partners.

¶ The *New York Age*, of New York City, edited by Mr. Fred R. Moore, has celebrated its thirtieth anniversary.

¶ The Red River County Colored Fair was held at Clarksville, Tex., October 4-6.

¶ The Southern Beneficial League, an organization of colored Southerners in New York City, reports $22,971.81 on deposit. Mr. Thomas W. Griggsby is president. The organization has been in existence thirty-one years.

¶ Colored and white longshoremen in New Orleans, La., have declared a strike. There are 1,500 men in the colored organization.

¶ Colored carpenters are being used pretty generally in preparing buildings for the southern cantonments. They are receiving from four to seven dollars a day.

¶ Mr. F. W. Lancaster has invented a cash register for clubs and churches.

¶ The colored waiters at Copley Square Hotel, Boston, Mass., have returned to their places, the management recognizing the Union. Some of the waiters had been in the employ of the hotel for twenty-five years, when the Union ordered a strike.

¶ The hosiery mills in Elizabeth City, N. C., which formerly employed white labor, are now employing Negroes.

¶ Gen. Lewis T. Bryant, State Commissioner of Labor in New Jersey, announces the establishment of a Negro Welfare and Employment Bureau.

¶ Dr. G. E. Haynes of Fisk University finds that 3,500 out of the 7,000 men employed by the Newport News, Va., Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, are colored. Some of the colored men have worked twenty-five years for the company, and are earning from fifteen to thirty dollars a week. Much community work is being done for the colored workmen. Mr. Paul G. Prayer, a colored man of New York City, is now labor representative for this company.

¶ Mr. J. H. Collins, Jr., is in charge of colored employees at the Bush Terminal in New York City.

¶ Negro cotton handlers of New Orleans struck and raised their wages from $2.80 to $3.60 per day.

¶ A Commercial Study Club has been opened in Washington, D. C., with C. W. Banton as president. It aims to encourage the establishment of Negro business enterprises.

¶ The General Electric Company, which formerly had no colored employees among 22,000 persons, has now 125 colored men and one colored woman stenographer.

¶ Strikes among Negro workmen have occurred in various points. At Rocky Mount, N. C., 500 workers struck because increased wage was given to the whites and not to the Negroes. In Norfolk, Va., 300 colored women, working for the American Tobacco Company, struck for increased wages and shorter hours.

MEETINGS.

THE Negro Organization Society and the Virginia Negro State Teachers' Association will meet in Portsmouth, Va., December 5-7.

¶ The fourteenth annual session of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Negro Women's Clubs has been held. The seventh annual session of the colored women's clubs in Oklahoma was addressed by Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, national president. Thirty active clubs were represented and reported $5.10 per capita for maintenance of state work. Mrs. Judith C. Horton was re-elected president.

¶ The fortieth session of the Masons in Alabama re-elected W. T. Woods, of Mobile, Grand Master. The Grand Lodge and Chapter collected $118,855.89 during the year.

¶ The forty-second annual convention of the Masons in Kansas was held in Winfield. Mr. H. I. Monroe, of Topeka, was elected grandmaster.

¶ The Mississippi Rural Conference was held at Jackson, September 26-28. City

and state officials were among the speakers and the Negroes' condition was discussed.

¶ A Race Congress convened in Washington, D. C., October 3 and 4.

¶ The twenty-first session of the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention was held during September in Richmond, Va. The total receipts for the year amounted to $11,000. Dr. C. S. Brown was elected president.

¶ At the meeting of the National Equal Rights League, held in New York during September, Rev. Byron Gunner was elected president and William Monroe Trotter, of Boston, Mass., secretary.

¶ The thirty-seventh annual session of the National Baptist Convention, unincorporated, recently held in Atlanta, Ga., re-elected Rev. E. P. Jones, president. Every state in the Union, except Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, was represented; and $15,000 in cash and subscriptions was raised. The purchase of the Theological Seminary in Nashville, Tenn., valued at $100,000, was ratified. The Educational Board headquarters will be moved to Nashville, Tenn., and the Foreign Mission Board will be established in Louisville, Ky.

¶ Dr. E. C. Morris, of Helena, Ark., was unanimously re-eletced president of the National Baptist Convention, incorporated, held during September in Muskogee, Okla. Over 7,000 people from twenty-six states were in attendance. Gov. R. L. Williams and Mayor J. E. Wyand addressed the body.

¶ The sixteenth annual convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies was held in Kansas City, Mo. Resolutions were adopted denouncing lynching and mob violence. Capt. L. C. Valle is Chief of the Colored Roman Catholic Bureau in Chicago, Ill.

¶ Four hundred representatives attended the first national convention of the Madam C. J. Walker Company held in Philadelphia, Pa., and elected Mrs. C. J. Walker president. Mrs. Margaret Thompson, of Philadelphia, was unanimously elected honorary president.

MUSIC AND ART.

THE Louisville Music Association has been organized by colored people in Louisville, Ky., with Miss Mildred Bryant, supervisor of music in colored schools, as directress.

¶ Colored people in Omaha, Neb., through Mrs. S. Joe Brown, presented the episode "Colored Americans" at the missionary pageant given by white missionary workers.

¶ The Washington Conservatory of Music and School of Expression opened late in September. It has forty graduates and will have Mr. R. D. C. Dorsey and Miss Grace Gibbs added to its faculty.

¶ Mrs. Fannie R. Givens organized in 1914 a National Historical Art League Club and writes us that art leagues have been incorporated in fifteen states with a membership of about 1,600. The co-operation of persons interested is asked, particularly for a gallery which it is proposed to erect in Washington, D. C.

¶ A portrait of the late Dr. B. T. Washington, by Henry Salem Hubbell, has been painted for the chapel of Tuskegee Institute.

¶ The Music School Settlement for Colored People in New York City, directed by J. Rosamond Johnson, opened October 4. Messrs. W. J. Carle and H. G. Marshall have been added to the faculty.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.

THE city council in Los Angeles, Cal., has ordered that colored men be placed in the Fire Department at Fourteenth and Central Avenue.

¶ Miss Caroline B. Chapin has been elected president of an organization for the welfare of colored people in Englewood, N. J.

¶ Mr. William M. Ashby, a graduate of Yale University, has taken up his duties as executive secretary of the Negro Welfare League of New Jersey.

¶ The Mosaic Templars, a colored organization founded by the late John E. Bush in Little Rock, Ark., own $30,000 worth of Liberty Bonds and the organization has $183,000 cash in the banks of Little Rock.

¶ The Pennsylvania Railroad Company has installed a playground for colored children, living near Summerdale, at Enola, Pa.

¶ Mr. George Foster Peabody laid the cornerstone of the new colored Y. M. C. A. building in Brooklyn, N. Y. Its cost will be $204,534.

¶ At the tenth session of the National Association of colored graduate Nurses, held in Louisville, Ky., a National Nurses'

Registry at Lincoln Hospital, New York, was established. Miss Adah B. Thomas, Lincoln Hospital, New York, was elected president.

¶ Colored people in Chicago, Ill., are to have a new Pythian Temple, costing $20,000.

¶ The State Board of Health in North Carolina is planning a health campaign among colored people. Rev. James E. Holder, of Kinston, has been selected as an agent for this work.

¶ A bill to make lynching and prevention of race emigration a Federal offense is soon to be introduced in congress. It has been brought to Washington by Mayor Curley, of Boston, Mass., and was drawn by William H. Lewis, former Assistant U. S. Attorney-General.

¶ Ten thousand people witnessed the laying of the cornerstone of the new $180,000 colored Y. M. C. A. building in St. Louis, Mo. Nearly 4,000 people participated in a street parade led by Grand Marshal William H. Butler and his staff as Brigadier-General of the Uniform Rank of Knights of Pythias as military escort. The collections passed the $25,000 mark.

¶ At the recent bankers' convention in Atlantic City, John Mitchell, Jr., chairman of the special thrift committee for work among colored people, made a report.

¶ At the recent conference of the Intercollegiate Socialists at Bellport, L. I., addresses were made by W. E. B. DuBois and James Weldon Johnson. Mr. Johnson spoke on "The Negro in Art and Literature."

¶ At the National Association of Letter Carriers, which met at Dallas, Tex., the segregation of Negroes in separate locals was advocated. It was opposed by P. M. E. Hill, a Negro delegate from Yazoo, Miss., who was warmly applauded.

¶ A National Home for Colored Children has been started at Absecon, N. J. A farm of forty acres is being used.

¶ The Home for Aged Colored Women, Pittsburgh, Pa., was founded in 1883. It houses thirty-eight women at an annual expense of about $6,000, of which the state appropriates about one-third. There is also a small endowment. The property is worth $46,000 and is out of debt. Contributions for the support of the home are earnestly solicited. They may be sent to the president, Mr. David S. Richards.

¶ The thirty-third annual conference of church workers among colored people was held at the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Baltimore, Md. The Rev. S. W. Brice was elected president.

¶ Dr. W. S. Brooks, of Bethel A. M. E. Church, Baltimore, Md., has raised $15,000 to pay off the second mortgage on the church.

¶ Charles S. Morris, Jr., has been acting as field agent for the association which is collecting funds for colored French war orphans. Over $1,400 has been raised to date.

¶ A colored Country Club, with a membership of over 200, has been formed at Chesire, Conn. It is about twenty-five miles from New Haven. It has tennis courts, golf links, billiard and ball rooms.

¶ Miss Mary Pulliam, a Kentucky white woman who has done excellent work at the head of the Red Cross during and since the East St. Louis riots, has been dismissed at the request of the authorities of East St. Louis.

¶ The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association has called to its staff Miss Mary G. Evans as student secretary, Miss Josephine V. Pinyon as war worker, and Miss Adela Ruffin and Miss May B. Belcher as field workers.

¶ The Silent Parade Committee, of New York City, who organized the march of 10,000 Negroes protesting against the atrocities at East St. Louis and elsewhere, have voted to merge themselves into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as the "New York Branch."

EDUCATION.

DR. J. B. SHAW will succeed Dr. A. B. Camphor, who is now a bishop in Africa, as president of Central Alabama College.

¶ J. W. E. Bowen, Jr., has been elected Dean of Walden University, Nashville, Tenn.

¶ An increase of 3,600 colored school children is estimated in Philadelphia, Pa.

¶ The New Orleans, La., Board of Public School Directors has changed McDonough number 13, a white school, to McDonough number 35 for colored children. The school will have a high school department.

¶ At an educational and missionary convocation held in Tyler, Tex., at Texas Col-

lege, Bishop R. A. Carter, of the C. M. E. Church, Atlanta, Ga., raised $14,000 for education and missions.

¶ Rt. Rev. John E. Burke, Director-General in New York of mission work among colored Catholics, proposes to establish "The One Hundred Thousand League," in which 100,000 persons will give one dollar a year in the interest of colored missions in the South. The Catholics support 126 churches and 158 schools for colored people.

¶ A course in the ethnography of Africa will be given at Columbia University during the winter and spring by Agnes C. L. Donohugh.

¶ A reception to nearly 300 graduates of the public schools of Greater New York for the year 1917 was given by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a committee of citizens at Mt. Olivet Baptist Church.

¶ Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, secretary of Yale University, has been elected principal of Hampton Institute.

¶ The American Church Institute for Negroes, an Episcopal body supporting nine schools, reports total receipts of $79,443 during the last year.

¶ An intercollegiate oratorical prize contest was held in Hartford, Conn., among colored students from various southern colleges, who had been working in the vicinity during the summer. The judges were from the Hartford Public Schools and awarded first prize to S. F. Hogan, of Livingston College.

¶ Texas Negroes have given $10,000 for the educational work of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church.

¶ In Bibb County, Ga., the seventh grade will hereafter be taught in the colored public schools. Heretofore only six grades have been taught.

¶ Ten thousand colored children have been enrolled in the schools of St. Louis, Mo., which is 1000 more than last year and 1500 beyond the seating capacity.

PERSONAL.

MISS LOLA B. GRAHAM, a colored typist, has received appointment in the Navy yards at Brenerton, Wash.

¶ Prof. David W. Parker, a colored man, has been appointed Collector of Religious Statistics among Negroes of the South for the National Government.

¶ Mr. Frank R. Willis, with his Mohawk strain of dark cornish fowl, won the highest honors, scoring 37 points, which was 12 more than any breeder, at the State Fair in Louisville, Ky.

¶ Arthur U. Craig, a colored man, has been appointed head of food administration among colored people, with offices in the annex to the Department of Justice in Washington, D. C. Charles Stewart, a colored Associated Press correspondent, is in charge of publicity.

¶ Mr. Anderson Russell, the pioneer colored undertaker, in St. Louis, Mo., is dead. His real estate and personal property is estimated at $50,000.

¶ Miss Florence M. Hunt, colored woman, has been appointed a clerkship in the Surgeon-General's Office of the War Department. Her average as a typist and accountant was 100 per cent. The Misses Alberta Johnson and Agnes A. Adams have been appointed to the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

¶ "Major" Taylor, a colored bicyclist, of Worcester, Mass., won the mile "oldtimers'" race, September 18, competing against white riders.

¶ Mr. Handy Wilder, a colored farmer, of Franklin County, N. C., contributed $2000 to the Colored Orphan Asylum, at Oxford, N. C.

¶ Mr. Benjamin Fowler has six sons enlisted in the Glen Cove, L. I., Company of the Fifteenth colored Infantry, N. Y. N. G.

¶ Patrolman Moses P. Cobb, a colored man on the police force in New York, has been retired on a pension.

¶ Mrs. L. C. Clark is the first woman to be elected president of the Oklahoma State Negro Teachers' Association.

¶ Mr. Littleton McDuff, a colored police officer in Los Angeles, Cal., has been promoted to a detective sergeant. He passed the highest examination of all examined by six points.

¶ Edward A. Lord, of Toledo, Ohio, was drafted. Afterwards it was discovered that he was "colored." He was thereupon segregated and finally committed suicide by cutting his throat.

¶ Dr. Reverdy M. Hall, a colored graduate of 1872 from Harvard University Medical School, died recently in Baltimore, Md. His estate is valued at $100,000.

¶ Mr. Alexander E. Manning, a colored man in Indianapolis, Ind., has been appointed Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue, tax division.

¶ Mr. William D. Allen, a member of Chemical Engine Company, Number 1, Pittsburg, Pa., who has been in the service fifteen years, has been promoted to the position of captain.

¶ Major Walter R. Loving, retired, has been called by the Government to active service.

¶ Mr. William F. Jordan, of Philadelphia, Pa., retired as Chief Gunner's Mate, has been recalled to active duty by the Navy Department.

¶ Miss Blanche Lois Shepard, of Durham, N. C., was married on September 29 to Dr. Charles W. Kerr, of Boston, Mass.

¶ Miss Norma Keene is the first colored woman to be placed on the state pay roll in Portland, Ore. She is stenographer for the State Parole Officer, J. F. Keller, at Salem, Ore.

¶ William Snell, a colored man, is the only survivor of the crew of the Belgian steamship, *Belgian Prince*, which was sunk with a loss of thirty-eight lives. All life preservers were ordered to be taken from the crew, but he managed to hide his life belt under his coat.

¶ Joseph C. Marshall of Savannah, Ga., won first prize, a silver loving cup, in a drummers' contest in Boston, Mass.

¶ Dr. Charles F. Ryder, a white secretary of the American Missionary Association and well known among colored schools, is dead.

GHETTO.

EFFORTS to force colored children to attend Stowe School in Cincinnati, Ohio, have failed, through the agitation of these children's parents.

¶ In the case of Stuart-Ferguson Timber Company vs. Harding Orchard Company, the Negroes have won their title to the 100 acre apple orchard at Roseburg, Oregon, which involves a transaction of $60,000.

¶ The Georgia colored Masons have resumed their fight in court for the right to use the name and wear the emblem of the Order.

¶ At Murphysboro, Ill., 200 white high school students struck because colored children refused to be segregated, and entered the high school.

¶ In Woodstown, N. J., last year a school for white children was completed, costing $100,000. This year a four-room school, costing $12,000 is to be built in South Woodstown for Negro children.

CRIME.

THE courts of Richmond, Va., have freed Mrs. V. C. Sear, a white woman, for the murder of Miss Louise Brown, her colored servant.

¶ By the decision of the Grand Jury, Postmaster Meek McGill and Carson Lattimore of Hickory Grove, S. C., have been put in jail for complicity in the murder of W. T. Sims, a colored preacher.

¶ At Altheimer, Ark., September 21, Dr. Hardin, a white planter, shot and killed James Ellis, a colored farmer, because Ellis ginned his cotton with another man, so as to keep Hardin from robbing him.

¶ The Superior Court in Raleigh, N. C., said to Rueben Bailey, a white rapist: "Let the prisoner pay the colored woman $25 and cost of the court and you give $100 bond for good behavior until the September term of court."

¶ In Arcadia, La., John Lewis and his aged mother, colored, were shot to death and several white and colored people wounded as a result of a white man, Pierce Dance, trying to settle a quarrel with the Negro by means of a pistol.

¶ Rueben Mason, a Negro truck driver for the Tripod Paint Company, in Atlanta, Ga., was shot and killed by J. B. McElroy, because he failed to move his truck out of the way of the white man's automobile.

¶ At Moultrie, Ga., a white overseer shot and killed Will McCray, a Negro farm hand, because of "insolence."

¶ The following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

Marshall, Texas, August 23, Charles Jones, hanged for entering room of a white woman.

Beaumont, Tex., Sept. 3, Charley Jennings was shot to death. Cause unknown.

Athens, Ga., September 18, Rufus Moncrief, hanged for attacking a white woman.

Goose Creek, Texas, September 21, unknown Negro hanged for attacking a white woman.

England, Ark., September 21, Sam Cates, shot to death by a mob of white men. He was accused of annoying white girls.

DR. G. W. ATKINS
Memphis, Tenn.
Formerly Practising Physician

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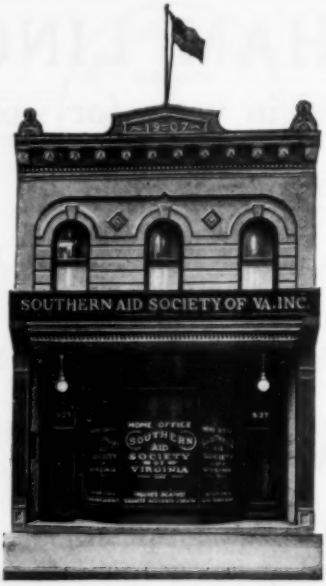

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